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DIVAGATIONS ON THE BEATUS

DIVAGATIONS ON THE BEATUS[1]

By GEORGIANA GODDARD KING

I

As painting, the manuscripts of Beatus' *Commentaries on the Apocalypse* offer tempting material for study. The number is limited, only about twenty-four being known to be extant. The region whence they came is restricted; only one, so far as known, having been written outside the Peninsula, and that by a Spaniard for a Spanish abbot. The chronology offers few problems, a good number being signed and dated; and other dated manuscripts exist contemporary in style and script. For a Hispanist it is no small advantage to possess incontrovertible dates, and furthermore to have them confirmed at every turn by palaeography, which is allowed to rank as a semi-exact science. Lastly, the style of the manuscripts is singularly homogeneous, yet with differences that resolve them into three main groups with some outliers, and with a marked and characteristic development.

The intention of this paper is to ignore for the nonce all questions of palaeography and what is properly archaeology, and to consider the miniatures as one might consider, say, some Sienese altarpieces just discovered in a hitherto-unvisited church on Monte Amiata. In the end it should be possible to draw some conclusions about the Spanish temper as it finds its occasion in the painter's art.

Beatus of Liébana wrote his *Commentaries* about the year 776. Afterwards he entered into controversy over the Adoptionist heresy, being reckoned in this subject the master of the great Alcuin. Through the centuries he was remembered more as the defender of orthodoxy than as the interpreter of the Apocalypse. Latterly the *Mappae Mundi* which appear in the illuminated codices of his Apocalypse have been studied as a subject apart by geographers; with them we have little to do.

He was born about 730, and he presumably took the name of Beatus when he took the habit of religion, in the region of Liébana and probably at the monastery of San Martín,[2] near the town of Potes. He was priest as well as monk, and he came to be abbot, there or elsewhere. There he composed the *Commentaries*, dedicating the work to his companion and pupil, Etherius, who was residing in the Asturias as Bishop of Osma *in partibus*; and for the King Mauregatus he wrote the Mozarabic Hymn[1] of St. James, *O Dei Verbum Patris ore proditum.* By 784 there was trouble about the precise relation to God of the Man Christ Jesus, Felix of Urgel and Elipandus of Toledo sustaining an opinion which they said the Spanish church had always admitted, and citing in confirmation the Mozarabic Breviary.[2] Both Beatus and Etherius seem to have talked and written about the matter, and when in the autumn of 785 they went up to Oviedo for an important ceremony, they stayed with a certain Abbot Fidel, who showed them a violent letter from the Toledan archbishop, that threw back upon themselves the charge of heresy. The occasion of the meeting was the widowed Queen Adosinda's taking the veil;[3] everyone of importance was gathered at the capital, and everyone was ready to tell the two from Liébana that Elipandus was calling them illiterate, and disciples of Antichrist. So began the pamphleteering that was to outlast the century: Felix of Urgel appealed to the emperor, who was Charlemagne; and up to the Council of Frankfort, in 794, went bishops of Britain, Germany, Gaul, and Aquitania, Peter of Milan and Paul of Aquileia, Alcuin from Tours and some from Spain. What a showing there must have been there on the Main of pre-Carolingian art, in textiles and embroideries, in jewellery and enamels, book-covers and illuminations, and all that the northern world could supply! Beatus did not go, and in 798 he died.

---

[1] I must express thanks at the outset to the Morgan Library and Miss Belle Da Costa Greene for free and frequent access to precious manuscripts; to my friend Dr. Walter W. S. Cook of New York University, who is publishing the Morgan Beatus MSS., for encouragement and the use of his photographs; to Mr. Albert Greenfield of Philadelphia for the gift of the color plates; and to my dear friends at the Centro de Estudios Históricos in Madrid and Señor Domínguez Bordona of the Biblioteca Nacional for help in securing the color photographs, with regret at not having earlier seen his *Catálogo de la Exposición de Códices miniados.*

[2] Called now Santo Toribio: cf. B. Martín Mínguez, *De la Cantabria* (Madrid, 1914), pp. 106–112. For his life see P. Risco, *España Sagrada* (Madrid, 1747–1849), XXXIV, 378–389. For the Adoptionist controversy and the political setting see C. J. B. Gaskoin, *Alcuin: His Life and His Work*, London, 1904.

After a while his name died away in Liébana. The abbey came to be called Santo Toribio instead of San Martín, and in 1183 was incorporated with the powerful monastery of Oña in the Burgalese. It remained a pilgrimage place, for which in the thirteenth century the Bishop of Palencia had given special indulgences and in the sixteenth such popes as Julius II and Leo X had sustained the privileges, but these concerned a mythical bishop and a relic of Holy Cross. The last of the manuscripts were carried off to what is now the Archivo Histórico Nacional[4] in Madrid, where the Tábara manuscript now lies.[5] Mínguez[6] has published an inventory of Santo Toribio taken in August of 1316, in which among all the Sunday books and Saints' day books (*do-*

---

[1] Justo Pérez de Urbel, *Origen de los himnos mozárabes*, in *Bulletin Hispanique*, XXVIII (1926), 125–127.

[2] Marius Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* (Paris, 1912), pp. xxix–xxxii.

[3] He is said to have been the "Governor" of Queen Adosinda and it is barely possible the *Commentaries* were first made for her, text and miniature; Mauregatus, whose name appears as an acrostic in the Hymn of St. James, was her half-brother.

[4] R. Amador de los Ríos, *España, sus monumentos y artes, Santander*, pp. 830, 832. Cf. José María Eguren, *Memoria descriptiva de los códices notables* (Madrid, 1859), pp. xxvii–xxxii. Morales in 1572 had reported "no books there": Ambrosio de Morales, *Viaje* (Madrid, 1765), p. 59.

[5] Cf., however, M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes* (Madrid, 1919), p. 209, note.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 128. Cf. also J. Ruiz Serra, who makes it 1310; *Subsidios para la historia de nuestra cultura*, in *Archivo español de Arte y Arqueologia* (1929), p. 248.

mingales and *santorales*) along with a psalter, a book of tables and forecasting, San Isidoro, and hymns and legends of Santo Toribio, we find: "Item, a book in Toledan script, of sermons,[1] in the studio." There was no name on the manuscript [2] and no memory in the place.

There is, however, another chapter in his *légende,* which was set down by the Bishop of León, D. Francisco Trujillo, who died in 1592: namely, that in the village church of Valcavado, near Saldaña, which showed traces of having once been monastic, was interred the saintly monk Beatus who had lived there. His arm was preserved as a relic in the church and his body was buried there along with those of other holy men, for which reason burials in the church were forbidden. The church had possessed also a manuscript written in Gothic letter with illuminations of the histories of the Apocalypse; after more than six hundred years of possession the Archdean of Valderas carried it off to examine. So far the Bishop.[3] It is now in the Museum Library of Valladolid. Yepes, writing not much later, and probably not knowing the *Historia* of Trujillo, which to this day remains unprinted, is quite explicit: "The body of St. Beatus, companion of St. Etherius."[4] An Abbot of Valcavado called D. Gonzalo was visiting Liébana in 1036, presumably on San Beato's account.[5]

Beatus was also, though wrongly, believed to have been Bishop of Osma, not so much through confusion with Etherius, as because the forger Juan Pérez interpolated a Toledan Council of the year 796 at which Beatus figured as Bishop of Osma.[6]

II

Some twenty-four manuscripts are known to be in existence with fragments of three more, and most of the rest named by the scholars Morales or Flórez, or the bibliophiles Antonio and Delisle, can be conjecturally identified with some of these. The earliest is one in the Escorial, perhaps of the ninth century; the earliest dated is a Morgan manuscript (No. 644), read as 926; the latest dated is that in the Vatican, 1552. A chronological list will be found on p. 56. From this it appears that with miniatures we have possibly none of the ninth,[1] but eight of the tenth, four of the eleventh, nine of the twelfth, and two of the thirteenth century. There is also one in the library of the King of Spain, which has no miniatures, it is said, though it need not be left quite out of count, one in the Escorial, lacking illuminations, of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, the Vatican codex, some tables bound up with the copy of Facundo, and three loose leaves from lost manuscripts, lately discovered at Silos.

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[1] *Sermo,* homily read after the Gospel. Férotin, *op. cit.,* p. xli.

[2] Cf. G. Antolín, *Un Códice Visigodo,* in *Ciudad de Dios,* LXX, 617. No Beatus MSS. have the author's name.

[3] *España Sagrada,* XXXIV, 388 sq. Cf. Mínguez, *op. cit.,* p. 122, note: "When in the XVI century was profaned the famous sepulchre of Oveco in Valcavado in which was found a copy of the Apocalypse commentated by S. Beato, the Patron was Dr. Flórez of Carrión, who addressed to the ecclesiastical authorities a protest against the hardihood of the *Cura* who threw out the remains that were in the tomb and put a recent corpse there. The documents are preserved." This is not impossible to reconcile with Bishop Trujillo's account, but it does invalidate the Oveco argument of Blázquez, *Los Manuscritos de los Comentarios al Apocalipsis de San Juan por San Beato de Liébana,* in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos,* X (1906), 258. Cf. also Flórez, in the preface to his edition of the *Commentaries: Sancti Beati presbyteri hispani Liebanensis in Apocalipsin ac plurimas foederis paginas commentaria* (Madrid, 1770), pp. v–vii.

[4] "Valcauado, aunque no me consta que aya sido Monasterio rico, y poderoso, pero fue muy calificado en tierra de Saldaña, y autorizado con el cuerpo de san Beato, compañero de san Etereo." A. de Yepes, *Crónica General de la Orden de San Benito* (Madrid, 1617), VI, 85.

[5] Mínguez, *op. cit.,* p. 122.

[6] *España Sagrada,* VII, 295 sq.

As for provenance, we know with certainty where five were written, but they seem to represent the outlying termini of divergent lines. Considering the manuscripts geographically, one early group can be securely placed within the ancient diocese of Palencia, or adjacent, in that of Astorga, in León and Zamora; they must be called Leonese. With them account must be taken of the works of one Florentius who flourished from 943 to 970 in the same region, at the monastery of Baleránica, situate on a confluent of the Pisuerga, who also exercised an influence at the scriptorium of San Millán. The close correspondence of these Leonese manuscripts which follow one another in chronology over a space of three hundred years, amounts very nearly to proof that the *Urhandschrift* from Beatus' own hand supplied the model.

First, as most important, should be named the Valcavado group: it begins with the Ashburnham–Morgan manuscript signed by Maius and dated 926;[2] next comes one from Tábara which Maius began in 968, but as he died before its completion, it was finished in 970 by his disciple Emeterius, who had also a hand in the manuscript of 975, now at Gerona, though other parts of that are quite unlike.[3] The Valladolid copy, which Oveco made for the Abbot Sempronius at Valcavado, is dated 970 likewise; one would like to know what starry influences rained on earth that year! In 1047 Facundo copied Oveco directly or at second hand for Ferdinand the Great and the Queen Doña Sancha, as is traditionally held; if so, it is almost the only case of secular use.[4] This, the most beautiful of all the examples, which belonged to San Isidoro of

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[1] For the ninth century Dom Ramsay claims the Ashburnham–Morgan, and the late P. Antolín the *Emilianensis* in the Escorial.

[2] Dom Ramsay reads the date within the ninth century: *The Manuscripts of the Commentary of Beatus de Liébana on the Apocalypse*, in *Revue des Bibliothèques*, I (1902), 9. Cf., however, M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. 131, note 2.

[3] There can be but one Emeterius; he uses both times the same odd phrase about bringing his work to port, and depicts the same palace-façade of five bays filled with plant-forms, that recalls on the one hand Ctesiphon and Hatra, both standing near Bagdad, and on the other the Moslem decoration of the gate-house at Rabbath-Ammon. Is it needful to say that in 970 both Mesopotamia and Syria were more accessible and more familiar to a Spaniard than in 1870?

[4] There is, however, the alleged composition for Queen Adosinda, which I should be inclined to consider in the same category as the lost MS. of La Espina and the copy that Egas made for a Portuguese princess-abbess at Lorvão, i. e. intended for monastic use. On the MS. of Oveco, at Valladolid, a note records its possession, once, by "me, Ferdinand, King of Castile," just as one of the Salamanca MSS. belongs to his Majesty D. Alfonso XIII

León and then to the Marquis of Mondéjar, is now at rest in the Biblioteca Nacional. That at La Seo de Urgel has been dated by Pere Pujol as early as 1040 [1] and identified as Castilian script, that is, not Catalan; it is either a direct copy after Facundo or taken from Facundo's source,[2] which in that case cannot be Oveco but a copy thereof; it is neither signed nor dated, though not apparently mutilated. In any event the Urgel copy is simplified in places and the inexpert and hurried fingers have not failed to hurt.

Another group proceeds more or less directly from the venerable abbey of San Millán, that lies between Castile and Aragon in the Ebro basin. It shows at the outset a close affinity with the two great Escorial codices, the *Vigilanus* from Albelda near by, where the most beautiful Visigothic script was written, and the *Emilianensis*. It comprises one at the Escorial of the ninth or tenth century, one at the Academia de la Historia of the tenth and twelfth, and that now at Burgo de Osma, dated 1086. The leaves surviving from two lost manuscripts of Beatus which were lately discovered at Silos fall into this category, for in the eighteenth century they were brought to Silos by Padre Ibaretta from Nájera in the Rioja. The first [3] was certainly at the royal abbey in the sixteenth century; it bears the memorandum of an eleventh-century privilege affecting Cirueña, a village near Santo Domingo de la Calzada but dependent on Nájera in respect of the parish church. The other three, which came from a different manuscript, have been assigned to the same century (the tenth) by the monks of Santo Domingo de Silos. This enlarges a little the *Gebiet* of the Emilian scriptorium in the matter of miniature, so that it now includes not only Albelda in the mountains but Nájera on the plain. Apart, but nearer to San Millán than to the rest, stands the tenth-century manuscript at the Biblioteca Nacional called No. 11 in the Catalogue of the 1924 Exhibition. With it have been associated, on textual grounds,[4] the Corsini Beatus, which has suffered much but was never beautiful, and the one at Berlin. Of the characteristic miniature style of San Millán they show little.

San Millán, lying much out of the way, enjoyed in those days a security almost unparalleled; "neither Goths disturbed nor heretics molested nor Moors destroyed nor Christians ever lost respect." Eguren,[5] who quotes this pleasant picture from Yepes, remarks bitterly on the loss of mediaeval manuscripts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through sheer ignorance, indifference, and neglect. That age was rich and self-sufficient. Morales had, however, at the end of the sixteenth, taken an interest in the Beatus, suggested that the Escorial should secure several copies, and recommended it for printing; and in the eighteenth Flórez did publish, in 1770, a text from three manuscripts, two lent by the Abbess of Las Huelgas, one then still at San Millán.

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[1] *El Codex de l'Apocalipsi de Beatus,* in *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1917), pp. 15–17. P. Garcia Villada assigned this to the tenth century; *Paleografia Española* (Madrid, 1923), p. 125.

[2] This suggestion is confirmed by Señor Domínguez Bordona's observation that five folios from an earlier copy are bound up with the manuscript of Facundo; they have no pictures; the colors of the decorative designs are vermillion and ochre; the script is like tenth-century examples. *Fragmentas de un Beato,* in *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología,* II (1926), 162.

[3] Cf. W. M. Whitehill, Jr., *A Beatus Fragment at Santo Domingo de Silos,* in *Speculum,* IV (1929), 102–105, 496, Pls. I, II. I have to thank him for further information in a private letter.

[4] For this I am indebted to Professor Henry A. Sanders, now head of the American School in Rome, and to Dom Ramsay of Downside Abbey.

[5] *Op. cit.,* pp. xix sqq. Cf. Fray Prudencio Sandoval, *Primera Parte de los Monasterios del glorioso Padre San Benito,* Madrid, 1661.

The copy at Gerona was written among the mountains of León[1] for an Abbot Dominic by a priest called Senior, who may have had a hand in the painting; by the Emeterius already named, who certainly has a portrait in the tower of Tábara; and by a woman called Ende who entitles herself God's Helper[2] after a fashion of the time. With her work or that of Senior we have to connect some of the twelfth-century pages of the Apocalypse from San Millán and the codex at Turin.[3] In this same tradition figure the Apocalypse of St.-Sever, signed by one Stephanus Garsea, and copied for the Abbot Gregory Muntaner[4] after the middle of the eleventh century, and that of Silos, though the local styles respectively of Aquitaine and Santo Domingo do much to modify and alter. A separable but derivative group is constituted, first, by a great pair, the Rylands manuscript and that from Las Huelgas which Flórez called *Burgensis* and which is now in the Morgan Library (MS. 429), dated 1220; their precise relation to the ruined codex in the Museo Arqueológico and that from San Andrés de Arroyo which Flórez used, now in Paris, is not easy to make out, while yet the filiation stares one in the face. Not much can be done till the Morgan manuscript is published. There is an anomalous Romanesque manuscript in Paris associated with Roncesvalles which cannot be dissociated from the *Burgensis* group. Lastly, the work of Egas, at Lisbon, touches these at many points, but remains, being Cistercian, a thing apart.

It is curious how many of those manuscripts which we possess have some association with the author. At Osma they believed that he had filled the see.

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[1] "In the diocese of Astorga," "in the northwest of Spain," said Francisco de Bofarull y Sans, *Apuntos bibliográficos y noticias de los manuscritos, impresos, y diplomas de la exposición universal de Barcelona, 1889*, in *Conferencias públicas* (Barcelona, 1889), pp. 471–509. Villanueva wrote, also, "Creo que el códice se escribió en lo interior de España"; he engraved the principal lines of the colophon: *Viaje literario a las iglesias de España* (Madrid, 1803–54), XII, 118–119.

[2] *Deo adjutrix:* cf. Mínguez, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 122. *Nonnita, deo vocata,* who in 832 wrote a document besides witnessing it, was a friend of Etherius, the friend of Beatus who long survived his master up there in Liébana; the Countess Fafila in 1030 calling herself "Christ's handmaiden" was probably not a nun, but anticipating the Third Order of St. Francis in some sense. Cf. "Adosinda, Christ's handmaiden, 1019," Eguren, *op. cit.*, p. xc. Sandoval, *Fundaciones,* fol. 82 v. has an account of Doña Elo Vélez receiving the habit from the Abbot of San Millán in 1102, and of this custom of noble ladies who called themselves *deo vota.*

[3] Professor Sanders, in a private letter, kindly communicated to me, emphasizes the close connection textually between Tábara, Gerona, and Turin, confirming the judgment here based on minature style.

[4] Blázquez, *op. cit.*, p. 265, pointing out that if Gregory died in 1072 he was too young to be abbot so early as 1028, allows for the date 1047–72.

At Valcavado they believed that his relics were yet enshrined there, and their devotion would radiate through all the Palencia region, among the nuns, from San Andrés de Arroyo to La Espina, and in courts and capitals. Oviedo, where Morales examined a manuscript, was the scene of an episode in his career; at La Seo de Urgel they had such interest in the adversary of a bishop of their own that there are indications they sent an emissary into the kingdom of León to secure a transcript for them. To Celanova in remote Galicia the fragment which Morales saw was probably brought by San Rosendo, for he was of Asturian stock.

The question that we face, of course, at this point is whether our two-dozen manuscripts in hand[1] represent but the poor survival of unestimated treasures that were lost and tattered and wasted. Certainly they were not appreciated: the late Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum has no good words for them. But in the early inventories of church treasures and pious foundations the name *Apocalypse* occurs so seldom that Gómez-Moreno suggests the work was chiefly popular with the laity. It seems, however, to have been copied for abbots and nuns.

True it is that in reckoning of the early Middle Age, if the book is not Scriptural and the patronage not imperial, twenty to thirty codices may be estimated good salvage. Spain was still what we should account a devastated area. They constituted, these limners who copied Breviaries and Bibles and Antiphonaries, the Morals of Gregory and the Homilies of Smaragdus and Cassiodorus on the Psalms, a living school. Maius and Emeterius, Oveco and Martín, Florentius and Facundus, Ende *pintrix*, Leodegundia poetess,[2] and all the rest who fill up the long list of names, were, when you come to think of it, amazing. They existed and labored in a conscious tradition of excellence.

It is an axiom that the whole northern world walked in terror of the year 1000, and a corollary that the Apocalypse made congenial reading. It is a fact that the immigration of non-Aryans and the break-up of empires made a peculiarly horrible *milieu* at this time, but it is notorious that the Spaniards were too busy with Almansor to consider any other Antichrist. The importance of the *Commentaries* and then their sudden disuse is probably to be explained otherwise: they seem to have been involved in the history of the Mozarabic Rite.

Canon XVII of the Fourth Toledan Council required that, as of old, throughout the Visigothic realm during the Paschal season the Apocalypse should be read and explained. Revelation i–iii was read in the seven days between

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[1] The roll-call of known MSS. in existence or lost amounts to 38, and will be found on pp. 56–57.

[2] There seem to have been plenty of trained scribes like Ende and Leodegundia. In the matter of educated women, Moslems and Mozárabes, see Julián Ribera, *Disertaciones y Opúsculos* (Madrid, 1928), I, 192, 197–200, 344 sqq.

Easter and the eve of Low Sunday, and on the following day, *Dominica in Albis*, Revelation v was read and applied to the mystery of the Eucharist as celebrated in the Mozarabic liturgy. Two eminent scholars, Dom Férotin and the learned and lamented P. Fita, certainly believed that the *Commentaries* of Apringius were used for instruction,[1] and as examples of Apringius were so rare already as early as the seventh century that San Braulio of Zaragoza tried in vain to borrow one from Toledo,[2] under guarantees, to have it copied, and as on the other hand various manuscripts of Beatus have been labelled and catalogued as Apringius [3] while on no known codex does Beatus' own name appear, there is every reason to suppose that the *Commentaries* of Beatus served equally, and the abbots for whom they were copied intended them for such a use. In the eleventh century they were superb, perhaps prepared expressly against the evil day foreseen. But with the eleventh century the Mozarabic Rite came to an end, except in certain parishes of Toledo and in certain privileged monasteries.

We all know how Rome was determined to abolish the Mozarabic Rite no less than the Ambrosian, and how the Cardinal-Legate Hugh and Richard from St.-Victor of Marseilles were successful in Aragon by 1064, and in Castile the French Bishop Bernard and the French Queen Constance worked for a like result. In Toledo the whole people rose and said they had rather die, but at the Council of León in 1091, where Pope Urban's legate presided, the thing was done. Archbishop Roderick tells the whole story admirably, and records that when the ordeal of battle was tried the Toledan champion was a noble of the house of Meanza near Pisuerga, that is, from the Valcavado region. He won the day, just as the great Mozarabic Breviary triumphed in the ordeal of fire, but the Queen had her way with Alfonso VI, and only the six Mozarabic Toledan parishes were explicitly exempted.

In those anxious years was painted the Osma manuscript (1086), not, as I think, at Toledo, though the map bears a representation of the primatial city; and the one at Silos, which is dated continuously 1073–1091 with a postscript to the effect that Peter the Prior finished his work in 1109. The phrase is important, for no other prior was a painter.[4] One copy was painted for a king's sister, Doña Urraca, to give to San Pedro de Eslonza in 1099; it is almost certainly lost. The great Infanta, she of the siege of Zamora seventeen years before, gave eleven codices, one of them set down as *Apochalipsim*,[1] and the painting in this region would be of the Valcavado type; but not so many years later her grandniece Sancha, the sister of Alfonso VII, turned over the abbey[2] to Peter the Venerable and the monks of Cluny, who would have no interest in it unless a destructive one.[3] The princess Doña Sancha, however, founding La Espina[4] in the very heart of the Campos de los Godos in 1147, under the peculiar protection of St. Bernard, knew how to make her terms, for there at the abbey in 1572 Morales saw a copy of the Apocalypse of Beatus. Perhaps it looked like the one now in Lisbon copied by an Arab, the son of an Arab, in a comically laborious imitation of the white Cistercian figures. But the Cistercian nunnery of Lorvão, in which Egas was working, had been Benedictine before, being indeed a foundation of the same Doña Muniadona who had founded the sister convent of Guimarães and bequeathed thereto an Apocalypse in 959 that probably was of the lost Asturian type.

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[1] Fita, *Patrologia Latina*, in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XLI (1902), 353 sqq.; the important passages are found on pp. 360, 361. Férotin, *Apringius de Béja*, preface, p. xix, note: see Appendix, Note I.

[2] The little convent of San Pedro de Montes had one, however, bequeathed by San Genadio (Sandoval, *Fundaciones*, fol. 30); so had Silos, and the manuscript is now in Paris, as P. Pérez de Urbel informs me. Dom Férotin knew it (*Apringius de Beja*, p. xv, note) but mistrusted its accuracy.

[3] Antolín, *op. et loc. cit.*; Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 27. Merino, writing the preface to the Gerona volumes of *España Sagrada* in 1819 (XLIII, xv; XLV, 12, 13) for the same reason believed it to be the *Commentary* of Victorinus.

[4] Marius Férotin, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Silos* (Paris, 1897), pp. 264–269. The coincidence of two Peters, both exceptional, is odd. Checking up in C. U. Clark, *Collectanea Hispanica*, in *Transactions of Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXIV (1920), 1–243, which records two hundred and thirteen "Visigothic" manuscripts, ranging in date from before 732 till 1160–75 (though unluckily the full commentary on ninety of these was never published

The Cistercian nuns of San Andrés de Arroyo[5] in the Palencia region had for foundress and first abbess a great lady, the king's kinswoman, and next after, her niece, until the thirteenth century was well advanced; nothing stood in the way of their securing a very beautiful copy painted in the new Gothic manner.[6] Now, though the codex of her own which the Abbess of Las Huelgas lent to Flórez for his printing may have had, as has been believed, some connection with Toledo, and more, as appears on examination, with the Moslem East, yet in the year 1220 the text of it was copied from the manuscript of Tábara, and it reproduced, along with the colophon and a self-satisfied postscript thereto,[7] the tower of Tábara, then already old, and the

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and might, in supplying new instances, raise the average), I find that in about forty-six manuscripts that have some name by way of signature, only two men are above the rank of simple presbyter. There are three women, three notaries (one at least is a priest and probably all), one monk, one *famulus Dei*, who may be a lay brother or may be secular, fifteen unspecified, six deacons, twenty-two priests, and two abbots; one of these was the Lord Abbot Peter (of San Millán?), 1073, but he did not write the note; the other, called Elenus, was the Mozarabic abbot of Santa Eulalia in Toledo in the ninth century; the books copied by both of these demanded extra care and learning, for one was passages out of Scripture, a *Liber Comes*, and the other was a Sacramentary. It would be easy to enlarge the list of names.

[1] Eguren, *op. cit.*, p. xc.

[2] José María Quadrado, *España, sus monumentos y artes, León*, p. 552.

[3] Morales, *Viaje*, p. 39, reported, when he visited San Pedro de Eslonza in 1572, that the Benedictines "a few years ago wanted to dissolve the monastery and turn over the rents to the College of Salamanca. This the City of León opposed, claiming it as a royal endowment; nothing came of it. . . . It has been done now." This accounts for one of the two Salmantine MSS. in our list.

[4] José María Quadrado, *España, sus monumentos y artes, Valladolid*, pp. 268–269. Cf. Francisco Antón, *Monasterios Medievales de la Provincia de Valladolid* (Madrid, 1923), pp. 78–116.

[5] Angel Manrique, *Annales Cistercienses*, has little to say about San Andrés, but the facts are fairly plain.

[6] For a sample, see the page reproduced by W. W. S. Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia, IV*, in *Art Bulletin*, VIII (1926), Fig. 15.

[7] Translated in *The Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse from the Codex Laudianus . . . together with the Apocalypse Text of Beatus from the Tenth century* [*sic.*] *Manuscript in the Morgan Library, New York. . . .* E. S. Buchanan (London, 1916).

little patient monkish figures who had sat writing there for two centuries and a half.[1]

Latest of all, the work was done once more in the fifteenth or the sixteenth century; not in Toledo where the powerful Cardinal Cisneros, protecting the Mozarabic Rite, printed his *Missale Mixtum*, but somewhere near the Duero very likely. As far back as 1409 a Bishop of Segovia, Juan Vázquez de Cepeda, bought land at Aniago (near Medina del Campo) to found a hospice of Mozarabic chaplains, clergy living under a collegiate rule. In 1436 he made over the deeds to the "monastery of Mozarabes." This seems to have been at the very close of his life, for within five years he transferred it to the Queen Doña Juana, on the understanding that if they could not go on she was to found the monastery most convenient. On October 8, 1441, the Portuguese woman put in Carthusians.[2] There, however, lies buried the bishop, and in Morales' day there were no books left. The Escorial codex, if copied for the Bishop of Segovia, cannot be the one that Flórez saw in the College of San Bartolomé at Salamanca, for he judged that to be of the twelfth century. As the King's codex came from the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca,[3] there were once at least two twelfth-century copies in Salamanca. The Salmantine manuscripts therefore testify to that Mozarabic nucleus still persisting at Salamanca which led the Cardinal Talavera in 1517 to establish and endow the Mozarabic chapel in the cloister of the Old Cathedral.

And indeed the Escorial codex has a note[4] about submitting it to a Salamanca professor for his opinion or approval, as though there were some thought of making a copy for the Talavera foundation. But the hour had struck; there are no later miniatures than these.[5]

The odd thing is that we have not a single Asturian manuscript among them all. In respect of that which Morales saw at Oviedo, we must accept Dom Ramsay's ingenious identification of it[6] with one in the Escorial, which nevertheless by certain morphological traits belongs to the scriptorium of San Millán. On the other hand an Oviedo codex called *Libro de los Testa-*

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[1] Antolín, *op. et loc. cit.*; Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, p. 210. Presumably it was after the loan of this manuscript to Burgos that, never getting home again (as happened later to that of Valcavado), it turned up finally at the early home of the author, in Liébana.

[2] Quadrado, *España, sus monumentos y artes, Valladolid*, p. 234.

[3] Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[4] On the last leaf you read: "This book is to be delivered in Salamanca to the very reverend Father Master Mancio, for him to look at it and send word what he thinks about it. Marmol?" (Antolín, *Primera edición de un códice de la época visigoda*, in *Ciudad de Dios*, LIII, 1900, 26.) The cryptic close does not hint at an intention to copy a miniature for a funeral tablet, but puts down the name of a learned friend of Morales, Juan Vásquez del Marmol. It is likely that the Master Mancio was to say whether it were good enough for the Escorial, since this Mancio was "Catedrático de Prima de Teología" in the University, and apparently a friend of Morales. (*Viaje*, p. 192.) As we know, he approved, and it is safe at the Escorial.

[5] There is, as said already, a codex of 1552, without miniatures, in the Vatican: this remains so far entirely unpublished.

[6] Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 sqq.

mentos (1126–29) has marked likeness to the silver reliefs of the Arca Santa and is thus proved by style, as well as by history, proper to the Asturian capital. We must remember that there exists an open road as much travelled in the early centuries as by the diligences today, which crosses the mountains and links Liébana, with Potes for a centre, to Burgos and Cardeña, whence again the old *Camino de Santiago* runs on eastward into the Rioja, not far from San Millán. This brings that venerable sanctuary into contact with the Asturias as easily as with Saldaña and the Palencia region.

Since there seems a constant tradition [1] that Beatus wrote two codices with his own hand, the eighth-century original may be located, then, at the apex of the triangle, in Liébana, to be transmitted at about the same time to San Millán and Valcavado. But while the style at San Millán is subject to all sorts of influences, there is at Valcavado a surprisingly fixed type, unalterable to the end. This must confirm the legend, which is itself not only quaint but plausible and reasonably authenticated, that the monk did leave his lonely abbey and end his days in the Campos de los Godos.

III

The *Commentaries* of Beatus constitutes, as the title indicates, a *catena aurea* or string of passages from the Fathers interpreting the Vision of St. John. The list of sources differs somewhat in the manuscripts and ranges from eight to ten in number, with variants; in the Apocalypse of St.-Sever the eight monastic commentators are arranged in compartments of a frame after the manner of Vigila's figures in the *Albeldensis*.

Not all the manuscripts are complete at beginning and end; but there should be, in a perfect copy, a good deal of introductory matter, a presentation of the Book of Revelation in sections or *histories*, each followed by an *explanation*, and finally St. Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel* in which the miniatures are often inferior. The paintings include one or more pages of frontispiece, with representations, here or elsewhere, of Christ Coming or Christ Reigning, the Triumph of the Cross (Fig. 1) or the Α and Ω of Revelation i, 8; then more or less extensive tables of Christ's genealogy according to the flesh, that may include vignettes of Adam and Eve, or the Sacrifice of Isaac, or the Annunciation or Epiphany, or perhaps some portrait heads in roundels, as where more than once a very beautiful pair is adapted for Jacob and Leah from an angel and Virgin Annunciate, while for Rachel overleaf the familiar Virgin Orante serves.

After these follow eight or even more full-page miniatures of the Evangelists, arranged in pairs; under curtained arches, with the symbol in the tympanum, are seen, on the left side the traditional Evangelist and attendant, on the right a pair of angels that hold between them or pass from one to the other the Book (Fig. 2), or the casket which contains it. Above, very often, the symbolic beast is set on one side rampant, couchant, passant, or regardant, and opposite to that in half-length the Byzantine symbol, human but beast-headed. Somewhere usually occurs also a set of arcades after the manner of the Eusebian canons, that serves in the first and the latest codex to reckon the names of Antichrist and their numerical value.

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[1] Antolín, *op. cit.*, *Ciudad de Dios*, LIII (1900), 25.

Then the Vision proper opens, and the miniatures illustrate the Scripture passages, with certain well-marked exceptions. The map is one of these; so is the array of the twelve Apostles who were like grain scattered through fields. For them are sometimes substituted Adam and Eve, or they sometimes are marshalled to fill the gap left by dropping the Fathers, in whose exegesis no one took much interest any more. The story of the deathless Witnesses, Enoch and Elias (Revelation xi, 3–12), introduces usually three pictures, namely, their expectancy in Paradise, their martyrdom, their ascension on a cloud to present themselves before the Throne. A fox that carries off a cock may be set simply on the white parchment between two lines of the text, or else framed like any other picture; and various knots, crosses, and other ornaments fill spare space, but these and the initials and section-headings are rarely pictorial, but purely decorative in their intention.

The pictures often fill a whole page, or the better part of one, and sometimes a pair of pages; on the other hand, such recurrent representations as those of the Seven Churches, the Seven Trumpets, the Seven Vials and their consequences, are set in smaller oblong rectangles, sometimes two on a page, or three on two pages. The upshot is that the Type Codex is very richly illustrated, and adequately decorated, all the scenes having a specific content and context, and frequently a mystical intention. If you open a Bible and look through the Revelation, jotting down the things that seem by their significance to call for illustration, you will have a list pretty closely corresponding to the Beatus illumination, with one sort of exception. Those which do not lend themselves to plastic representation are omitted.[1] Juan Rodríguez tried in Toledo to show the City of God coming down from heaven, but Beatus was wiser. Jan van Eyck, when on a visit, painted the Fountain of Life which was copied for two Spanish convents, but Beatus left the deep river flowing away from beneath the Throne and the trees waving on the two sides of it, and sent up John's soul like a white bird to look on and understand.

Last, there comes an *asunto místico*: the city of Babylon, shameful and holy, locked and guarded with serpents for warders and two immense dragons coiled about — sinister as the Dark Tower. To the author, Moslem Babylon had been perhaps sheer terror, to the limners copying, a mingling of menace and splendor that well could typify the allurement of this glorious and wicked world; but primarily it was a real place and the Beatus picture was copied in the codex of Roda [1] to figure as historical and geographical, along with Nineveh and Toledo, actual and romantic.

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[1] In the Romanesque manuscript, however, is found a quaint attempt to show that there was silence in heaven for the space of half an hour.

After the Siege of Jerusalem (Fig. 3), in the Beatus manuscripts [2] the *Commentary on Daniel* begins overleaf. I know but one copy from which this was wanting, but it cannot have figured in the first codex, for the painting, though always integral with the rest, is rather different in conception, even to the point that wherever the Apocalypse figures are set free against the white parchment, in Daniel, conversely, they are framed and the colored grounds restored.

IV

When Beatus illustrated his *Commentaries*, as for his material he had drawn on the Fathers, — chiefly Spanish or North African, Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Fulgentius, Gregory, Apringius, Tyconius, Irenaeus, Victorinus, and Isidore, — so for his miniatures he had sources familiar and traditional at hand. There were enough manuscripts in the north, carried up by the Christians retreating in the early eighth century before the Moslem host, or later sent up for exchange, purchase, or gift, besides those which had been there already before the fall of Roderick sixty years previous. Liturgical manuscripts were a daily necessity: in the Visigothic days the northern cities had their own treasures, and the refugee kingdom was more likely to possess the *beaux restes* of the past than to have made plain and illiterate copies, however suitable these to their fallen estate. Some were doubtless in the old Latin style; some, perhaps, of North African Fathers in a style of which we know little even conjecturally; some also Eastern, liturgical, or doctrinal, or secular. In the southeast, the Byzantine empire had held on till the seventh century;

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[1] Written in the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century somewhere in the Rioja, Navarre, or Upper Aragon. See Z. García Villada, *El códice de Roda recuperada*, in *Revista de Filología Española* (1928), p. 123 and Fig. 3. I am indebted to my colleague Dr. Gillet for bringing to my attention this amusing illustration.

[2] Lists of the miniatures have been published for the following codices: Rylands: A. Bachelin, *Description d'un Commentaire de l'Apocalypse*, Paris, 1869, and M. R. James, in *Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, 1921. St.-Sever: L. Delisle, *Mélanges de Paléographie et de Bibliographie*, Paris, 1880. Turin: Theodor von Frimmel, *Die Apokalipse in den Bilderhandschriften des Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1885. Ashburnham–Morgan: M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the second series of Fifty Manuscripts in the Collection of H. Yates-Thompson*, London, 1902. San Andrés de Arroyo: L. Delisle, *Inventaire alphabetique des MSS. latins*, Paris, 1891. Escorial: G. Antolín, *Un códice Visigodo de la Explanación del Apocalipsis por San Beato de Liébana*, in *Ciudad de Dios*, Madrid, 1902. Urgel: Pere Pujol, *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1917. Gerona: Francisco Bofarull y Sans, *Apuntos Bibliográficos*, Barcelona, 1889. *Burgensis:* E. S. Buchanan, *The Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse*, Appendix III, London, 1916. Of the following I am not sure: Valcavado: Marcelino Gutiérrez del Caño, *Códices y manuscritos que se conservan en la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Valladolid*, Valladolid, 1888; Corsini: Villada in *Razón y Fe*, Madrid, 1905 (I think not). Domínguez Bordona supplies a concise list for each of the Beatus MSS. in his catalogue of the 1924 exhibition (Madrid, 1929).

and in León, a convent under the rule of St. Basil was surviving till the coming of Cluny. If the Ashburnham Pentateuch is almost the only fine specimen of the miniature of the Visigothic church, yet it can stand for much that we have lost, and the exceptional character of the style must leave us still assured that the other more monumental style flourished contemporaneously; if not, the fusion of manners would be discernible. From what was to follow before the eighth century drew to a close, it is necessary to infer already a strong Eastern admixture.

The central Valcavado group has a look of offering the primitive or type form. The successive copies differ so little from each other that they may be treated as a unit in considering the sources and constituents of the style.

What first strikes one on opening the pages is, of course, the brilliant coloring, the banded backgrounds. The picture is a solid mosaic of color. The figures, whether or not arranged in rows, are dressed in vivid hues and set in a field striped like a Roman silk, without any white or black intervening. There may be four bands, or six, or eight: for instance, scarlet at the top, then yellow, then blue in two tones of darker, lighter, and darker again; or, again, reading downward, deep blue, narrower green, yellow, scarlet, narrower violet, yellow, salmon, and green. In these the figures are imbedded as in Limoges enamel.

After the first surprise one recognizes that the novelty lies in the spectator. The Early Middle Age employed a colored background consistently: the Vienna Genesis and the Rossano Gospels are both written on purple parchment against which the figures stand; the Sinope fragment has a salmon-pink ground; and for Beatus, for Maius, for Facundus, no explanation was needed. There was indeed another tradition, of an unbroken field of white parchment, represented in Spain by the Ashburnham Pentateuch, the Bibles of Roda and Ripoll, and the Escorial codices from Albelda and San Millán; this persists in the early Beatus illumination from San Millán. But the other way was more magnificent, and very ancient.

It comes down indeed from the antique, the "illusionist" art which Professor Morey has traced to Alexandria. In the Vatican Virgil it is employed already; Paul de Nolhac[1] observed more than thirty years ago that the painter, having a certain sentiment of aërial perspective, tried to render the effects by the variations of the background: in Hell indeed all is violet, — in that twilight underworld, — but ordinarily he divided the rectangle into three horizontal bands: the sky blue or green, the middle pink, the ground pale yellow-green or ashen-grey. Miss Avery in her skillful study of Sta. Maria Antiqua[2] singles out with peculiar care just those chapels and walls and layers of fresco in which the bands of color show up plainly. In Wilpert's Roman color-plates, along with some ninth-century scenes from Sta. Maria in Via Lata and S. Clemente, we must accept the eighth-century composition at Sta. Maria Antiqua of Christ enthroned with a row of saints as consciously employing the convention, and also as being a variant of it the background of the Crucifixion and the scenes at Sta. Saba among which is found the Paralytic Healed. An amazing Ascension at S. Clemente will be described more fully.[1]

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[1] *Le Virgile du Vatican et ses Peintures* (Paris, 1897), p. 31; cf. pp. 37–38.

[2] Myrtilla Avery, *The Alexandrian Style at Santa Maria Antiqua*, in *Art Bulletin*, VII (1925), 131–149.

One early mosaic, however, in Sta. Maria Maggiore,[2] supplies the key to the Beatus; the theme is Melchisedek, the bands of colors are: (1) blue = sky, (2) gold = air, (3) yellow = middle distance, (4) green = ground. In all these mosaics gold is used for the air. The Beatus manuscripts show a disposition towards yellow: at times a fine scarlet is used instead, or a sort of salmon-pink with a cloudy smudge along the upper edge, precisely as in the Japanese prints which put blue at the top of the sky and shaded pink along the horizon; though the paint there is wash instead of impasto, the convention is the same.

All the so-called Alcuin Bibles have banded backgrounds, and here also the personal associations of the name enter to seduce and confuse the judgment, but the French miniatures show no comprehension apparently of color-mosaic and are described [3] as softly striped with blue, violet, and white in a fashion directly borrowed from classical painting. In any case they fall sixty years too late to have influenced the prototype, and too early to affect any known Beatus manuscripts. The style, furthermore, is entirely different. Sporadic instances of the banded background occur in other manuscripts, but they are too rare and too late to prove anything. Once we have it in the Psalter of Charles the Bald, where the Dance of David [4] along the mountain tops affords an awkward but unmistakable case. And again in a twelfth-century Psalter painted for a Dorsetshire abbess are said to be some eight miniatures "in a stiff archaic style with backgrounds of a single color or in broad bands of purple, green, blue and red;" [5] in the Psalter of St. Robert at Cîteaux [6] the scene of the Flagellation is set against a banded background, but that came from Arras; yet Stephen Harding was a Dorset man.

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[1] Joseph Wilpert, *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien* (Freiburg, 1916), IV, Pls. 192–193, 180, 188 (2), 210.

[2] Temp. Liberius, 352–366. I owe thanks to my colleague Dr. Diez, who called my attention to this in Wilpert, *op. cit.*, III, 8.

[3] J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1912), Pl. XI, pp. 95–96. He adds that the striped background survived as a noticeable and persistent feature in the early German style.

[4] Figured in Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte* (Milano, 1924), II, 315.

[5] *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts, British Museum*, II, 8, Pl. IX.

[6] C. Oursel, *La Miniature du XII siècle à l'abbaye de Cîteaux* (Dijon, 1926), p. 23 and Pl. I. The work of Fr. Osbert of Arras, in 1125 (*ibid.*, 7, Pl. LI) hardly shows the same tradition which appears elsewhere (Pl. XLVIII, L), and promptly breaks down into heraldic quartering, as in the case of the Rylands Beatus.

Coming back now to the illuminated page with an eye a little educated, and recognizing that the monumental scenes are thereon portrayed in two or more registers, as the action goes on simultaneously in heaven, on earth, and in the midst between, the coloring appears less unaccountable. In the first scheme cited above, the blazing heaven is scarlet, the air is yellow, the blue, with alternation of tones, is the sea. Again, in one of the scenes that deal with the Seven Churches where the Lord is enthroned among the Seven Lamps (*ubi sicut leon*, it says), the empyrean is deep blue, with a narrow green passage to the second register that consists of a yellow field of stars, scarlet where St. John is with the angel, and violet for the standing-ground; lastly, yellow light, a salmon color for the burning desert air, and green earth underfoot. From this and scores of other paintings it is manifest that the artist is bound by no formula but has a definite "expressionist" attitude towards his colors. The manuscript from which these two examples are taken was early; later, the paintings tend to lose the half-symbolic color values, like yellow for the desert sand, scarlet for the burning air, a deep and powerful blue for the abyss and the empyrean, and to pass into pure schemes of decoration, or what seem such to the Western mind. For we have always to remember that to Spain the whole East was open, was pouring in; more than once a manuscript was copied by a *Sarracinus*[1] for whom the colors had as it were numbers and secret significances, and the design when completed was like a magic square or the apocalyptic computations.

Composition in two or more registers was no invention of Beatus, for the Vienna Genesis with infinite pains beguiles the action from one line down to another by means of a few hills or the rocky steps above a spring, a path, a bridge, or the road that winds down and into a city gate. The Rabula Gospels, after depicting the Crucifixion, frankly rule a line across the space and set the Resurrection scenes below. The Greek Homilies of Gregory, in the ninth century, particularly admired and also particularly important for liturgical use, were, too, particularly apt to be illustrated on close-packed pages with piled-up episodes. On the other hand, as already intimated, the *mise en scène* of the Beatus fairly imposed some such arrangement — a vision of heaven, the abyss, the sky and earth between, as where St. John lies in the lower corner and sends up his soul, like a bird held by a thread, to perch on the arm of God's chair within the star-framed circle of blue that is called *Tronus* (Revelation vii, 9–15). In certain cases we must allow for a somewhat vertical perspective, by which the twenty-four Elders about the Throne are set in two bands, half just above and half just below the Throne (Fig. 4), this being indeed a very ancient convention of representation. Where a line is too long to be embraced within the breadth of the page, it is reduplicated in continuation, as in the solemn ritual dancing, just as once a whole scene is cut athwart and lifted over to the next page, in the Gerona Vision of the Son of Man (Revelation i, 12–20). Once in a long while the old ‘‘continuous method’’ is frankly employed. Elsewhere, it takes indeed the whole page, like a meadow or a parade-ground, to accommodate the Vintage (Fig. 5), or the Four Horsemen, the Fall of the Dragon, Hell's Chivalry (Revelation ix, 7–12), or the ‘‘White Horsemen who ride on White Horses, the Knights of God.’’ Where the eye follows — say from the Throne, established at the top, flanked perhaps by the separate seats,[1] row upon row, of those who reign with God forever, past sun and moon that are falling, falling, through measured spaces down to the roots of the mountains, or where, amid the javelins of the lightnings and the rushing of an angel, the millstone drops crashing into the sea, below which is the House of Hades, that is Babylon — there in such cases the convention approves itself as entirely right.

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[1] The question of this name is a difficult one; the papers of San Millán and Silos are full of witnesses called Alvaro Sarracínez and then anon in the next generation Sarracin Alvárez, and the like, as though it were such a name as any other, as Miss English and Mr. French are good Americans. Yet the monk who signed in 772 as Sarracin Presbyter may on the other hand have been a convert and so Vigila's *socius* Sarracin at Albelda, who was certainly a tonsured monk; and the best-reputed scholars have admitted the recurrence of the name as evidence of the presence of Moors.

As the centuries went on, the great apse-mosaics may have had a part in altering the style in conformity with their monumental disposition: in the semidome, God; below, angels and Virgin; in the lower hierarchy, bishops and martyrs. But the twelfth-century manuscripts on the whole are less monumental. On the other hand, the Gerona presentation of the Souls under the Altar (Revelation vi, 9) suggests an apse-mosaic like S. Apollinare in Classe, and that of the three angels flying (Revelation xiv, 6–9) when "Babylon is fallen, is fallen," in the upper part, looks as though taken over from a semidome; while the Apparition among the Creatures, with the Elders adoring (Revelation xix, 4), as Emeterius painted it, recalls the triumphal-arch mosaics of the great early basilicas in Rome; but this was not taken up into the Valcavado tradition. Indeed it would seem that one scene from the very outset, fixed and canonical, the Glorification of the Lamb (Revelation iv, 6–8), had been transferred from a Byzantine dome-mosaic and the apse opening out there from (Fig. 6); and in one late manuscript a single miniature, confused and half obliterated, is copied almost certainly after such great dome compositions of figures ranged among palm trees as every traveller yet may see at S. Marco.[2] Where the treatment is different, as in the Osma manuscript, it still suggests a ceiling decoration; only in St.-Sever one wonders if there were a Viking strain on the Garonne, that the Kings should be wassailing with uplifted cups. Nor may be forgotten one of the miniatures in the Councils Codex, *Emilianensis* (fol. 392 v.), a wheel of twelve figures with staves, in mandorlas between tall candlesticks, like an adaptation to other significance of the Ravennate Apostles and palm trees.

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[1] It may be that the Moissac tympanum owes a part of the conception to this composition which is, so to speak, canonical, and which is indeed almost certainly the explanation of that array of seated figures under arches which once walled in the choir at Compostela and now is built up on the two sides of an eastern portal there.

[2] It is not possible to point to any dome that might have served Beatus for a model; about the church of the Holy Apostles in Byzance we know too little, and what there is points another way; but there are three baptisteries, at Naples and Ravenna, that might serve as point of departure for his invention, though the theme is quite unlike his.

Before leaving the question of what the artist might have adapted from churches with which he was familiar directly or at secondhand, it should be recorded that three miniatures at least of the Roncesvalles manuscript are copied from the stained glass of windows, preserving the heavy lead-lines that cut the composition transversely and are bent at square angles. In one case the Saviour appears in the centre of a rose window with fourteen cuspings. It is the fashion just now to refer all sorts of designs to stained glass as a source; the present writer feels that the habit would be a bad one, but is prepared to submit this manuscript as evidence that the thing was done. Another piece of borrowing is found in the locusts (Pl. V, 1–3) of the Romanesque and the Gothic Beatus which are taken over from the familiar human-headed monsters of Romanesque capitals, those for instance in Navarre at and near Estella, which symbolically correspond with the *mantigers* of Early English, and are the daughters of the Harpy and Syren, presumably.

A strange and striking likeness, that has already been cited in respect of the banded background and might be again as an adaptation of a known picture to a new theme, is the fresco in S. Clemente published by Wilpert [1] which represents the ascending Lord in a blue *Tronus* or mandorla, borne up by flying angels in a green sky filled with rosettes of little dots, below Whom, on a pale-blue band, we see His Mother, veiled, alone. Under her again the Apostles stand against bands of scarlet and, below that, of yellow. Some such image of the solitary figure between heaven and earth hung in some man's mind as it does in ours, and was repeated for the episode of the Souls under the Altar, in the miniatures from which Facundo and the Urgel painter copied.

This of Valcavado is at all times a monumental art, even in the refinement and sublimation of Facundo.

Primarily, however, it is an art of color. Form is indifferent; nay more, is set at naught. The page is a complete and considered whole, — whence arises one's failure to recognize at first sight the convention of successive heavens and reduplicating registers,— composed in pure color. Indeed the colors are very nearly pure in the technical sense; though not precisely those we are accustomed to call spectral they have as high a value,[2] and as the painter mixes them for himself they are never absolutely identical, which gives a richness or vibration within the book as a whole like the varying threads in textiles hand spun and woven. Each tiny figure wears tunic and mantle of contrasting colors. Furthermore, the innumerable lines which mark the folds of drapery are drawn in color, two or three hues to a single garment: brownish-red for instance and grey-blue on a blue mantle, yellow and blue on deep red, green and violet on yellow. The consequence of this is like the effect of the glass at Chartres, the innumerable various-colored rays impinging on each other upon the retina making a shiver of color, controlled by the broad heraldic banding of the background. This particular device of color is most marked in the earliest manuscripts; and once toward the end of the entire series it is replaced by a true impressionist technique identical with Watteau's, overlaying ochre with lines of green, — not hatching but true drapery lines, — or rose with lines of violet. That is to say, the Beatus painting understands and employs not only a sort of illusionism but a true impressionism. Color contrast [1] is used also, consciously, in the decoration: the lettering of section headings upon a field of color often countercharged, with the outlining of single initials, scarlet by green, or yellow by violet.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. IV, Pl. 210. Painted under Leo IV, 847–855.

[2] Unfortunately in even the best photographs of these miniatures the blue photographs as pale, and yellow and scarlet as dark, whereas for the eye they register very high.

Finally, in all the early painting both in the Palencia region and about San Millán, a solid color-mosaic is the technique employed. This, while diminishing realism, enhances potency. By "color-mosaic" the precise meaning of those two words is intended, without allowing for white ground, — strictly true at Valcavado, partially in the Rioja, — nor for black outlines, nor, so far as possible, for interstices within the solid opaque masses. The nearest parallel in our experience is in heraldry — Party per pale, gules and vert, or Azure, a chevron vair between three crescents argent. The same device, however, is discoverable in Byzantine miniatures and painting that, like Duccio's, is derived therefrom, and in the early Mesopotamian. In the earlier of our manuscripts a group of figures is welded together, overlapping without a gap; you find them prostrate before the Throne in two clumps, head to head, six on a side, solid as a panelled door without a keyhole. Take a page where the innumerable multitude forces the convention of four successive registers: three one above another, and the roundel held by angels over all; the background salmon, green, pale yellow, grey-blue, and pale scarlet, the figures sorted into sets of three as Leonardo was to do at the Last Supper table, but with only six hands projecting out of the entire animated mass, impermeable as L'Arlésienne or a bay and hillside of Cézanne's.

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[1] Cf. Michel Eugène Chevreul, *The Laws of Contrast of Colour* (London, 1868), Part I, *passim*. For this impressionism see Pl. XI–XII, which are, however, not subtle enough; Pl. XV is lightweight, XIV too speckled; II comes nearest to the effect of the banded backgrounds but all Chevreul's colors lack depth and power in comparison with the Spanish. To submit a list of instances selected chiefly from Urgel and Facundo to illustrate his laws (in chaps. 3 and 8) of juxtapositions that increase brilliancy would occupy space and profit the reader little.

This convention is not of course invariable: for instance, it does not strictly apply to the seven scenes where St. John and the angel converse beside the Seven Churches, nor to the trumpetings and the emptying of the vials. When Maius, who has a rare landscape quality, paints an angel walking swiftly along the tops of lapis-blue waves the upper edge of the rosy air is faintly embrowned; and when Facundo conceives of the angel trumpeting, *aquilam volantem*, and sun and moon eclipsed in a star-set firmament, the wide sea's floor and the tingling air are, as we say, *felt*. The Fall of the Dragon is treated with conscious illusionism in every instance, and in the Vintage the units are set pleasurably about in the field. For indeed, as said before, in all the manuscripts of one tradition reaching out to Gerona and St. Sever, and in some measure even to Rylands and *Burgensis*, the same scenes are usually envisaged in like manner, however different the representation. But it is most striking in the scenes that have been called "canonical" for their invariability, such as the Second Coming upon Clouds (Fig. 7),[1] the New Jerusalem that looks like an ikon silver-plated and gem-studded, and in the Last Judgment where heaven and earth have fled away leaving only human kind, and the dead that are lying in hell[2] begin to awaken.

V

The foregoing remarks, of which the bearing is meant to be general, being applicable without exception to the manuscripts nearest the origin, may be considered sufficient in the case of Maius' work[3] and of Emeterius' share at Tábara, with the corresponding part of the Gerona codex.

In the early examples from San Millán, the same blind and imperious impulse is at work. Color is the dominant. The backgrounds are not banded, but consist, where present at all, of solid color within the enframing rectangle or a heraldic quartering[1] as the field is divided by the design. The style is very like in the two great Escorial Codices of the Councils, securely dated late in the tenth century; but a progression is manifest from Beatus to Vigila and then to Velasco. In an old notebook,[2] the present writer has observed that in the Beatus the wings and draperies are calligraphic in form but with a sense for packing color so that the whole has mass where the Book of Kells has not. The drapery lines, which in the Valcavado group did indicate form in an impressionistic way, though they never were contour lines like those of Botticelli, have become pure pattern, and in the Escorial manuscript are accompanied by a series of little dots and dashes that reduce the whole design to patterning. The white of the parchment, reserved, is not a color like any other, but a true background, yet it enters into the composition as the cloud-and-sky forms combine in El Greco's Paris Crucifixion. Interstices are admitted, and indeed played for a high value, as where the blazing star falls, or in Jacob's wrestling with the angel (fol. 37 v.). For anyone who has renounced the last claim on representation in a work of art, there is something superb and troubling in the eagle and angel of the tenth-century manuscript (Fig. 8), or, only a century later (Fig. 9), the Lamb and four Beasts dominated by an avatar of Buddha.

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[1] Excepting, of course, the superb Gerona miniature, where another element enters in, and St.-Sever, copying Gerona.

[2] Revelation xx, 11–13; see for instance Facundo, ff. 247–248.

[3] The Ashburnham–Morgan manuscript was probably written at Valcavado. Maius says the abbot was called Victor and the place dedicated to St. Michael. Now the abbey near Saldaña has disappeared so completely that the gazetteer Madoz in 1846 knew the place only as *despoblado* (deserted) but Valcavadillo, close by, to which the last inhabitants must have moved away, has a church dedicated to St. Michael. Cf. Flórez, in the preface to his edition of the *Commentaries* (Madrid, 1790), pp. xvi–xvii. An Abbot Victor witnessed a document in 920, and he belonged, as I make out, in this ancient diocese of León, for the signatures run as follows: first, royalty, then the Bishop of León, then two Bishops *in partibus* (of Salamanca and Iria), then five abbots among whom Victor, then two Bishops of Astorga, and two more abbots. The two names, of Victor and of St. Michael, are both rare in the documents of the time and region. Between the two codices that Maius wrote forty-two years have elapsed, and he was probably old when he undertook the last (See Appendix, Note IV.). The very difficult colophon written at Tábara, I read as a pious tribute to Beatus from Emeterius which he commenced by transcribing, in red lettering, from the Valcavado manuscript which was there to be copied: "O man, Blest in truth, who lies entombed in the cloister." — When it came Tábara's turn to be copied, long afterwards, the earlier inscription was transcribed in its turn: *Catalogue of the Yates-Thompson Collection*, p. 304; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, pp. 131, 209 sq., 362; E. S. Buchanan, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 69. For the colophon of this and other manuscripts, see A. Blázquez, *op. cit.*, in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, X (1906), 257 sqq.; here 260.

Once recognized, the style of San Millán is impossible to mistake: the square, level cranium as though preserving some memory of a brachycephalic people; the almond-shaped eye, reduplicating instead of symmetrical, which lends life and expression and in profile becomes the Egyptian eye; the wings with mighty quill-feathers and with a coiled motive to represent the upper wing-joint where the soft, close plumelets lie, but (in the stricter tradition) without the hook employed by both Maius and Florentius at the root of the plumes, which is so surprisingly like the *Kreislappen* which once preoccupied Strzygowski in his analysis of early mediaeval design, and which probably does indicate in both miniature and gold work some far-off Asian source. The Cretan flounces which define so unexpected a silhouette in the Councils Codex indeed are wanting in the Beatus series, and so are the houses depicted with an upper loggia — as who should say a clerestory — like the

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[1] This is found in some early frescoes at Rome; e.g., the Crucifixion at Santa Maria Antiqua.

[2] Because an unaccountable saying of Delisle's about the want of blue in one copy of Beatus has been too often repeated and too generally applied, a few of the notes written beside the manuscripts at the Escorial in 1919 and 1926 may be here transcribed. Beatus, ninth century: colors are blue, yellow, red, and green; angel trumpeting, almost all flame-color and blue; sun falling, figures below blue and yellow; space divided and figures composed admirably; pale yellow ground with red and blue; f. 103, new color begins, orange especially lovely; designs orange and grey-blue. *Albeldensis* (A.D. 972): red, orange, mauve enter in; orange, mauve, and pistache; by f. 116 the background comes to count for more, this is scarlet, the last pale yellow; the page with Vigila scribe, Sarracinus companion and Garsea disciple has in the compartments yellow, mauve, and scarlet, but green and blue added in dress and border. *Emilianensis* (A.D. 992): magnificent frontispiece all blue and yellow; titles, gold letters on bands of two blues and old rose; colors deep blue, terra cotta, deep green-yellow, and one more blue; new title-page still blue and green-grey; (elsewhere) by dint of drawing he is learning to draw!

Roman villas shown in the mosaics of North Africa. Yet the style is one. For it is before all the determination of everything to pattern, often powdered, often imbricated, or spiral, or most often that double curve which Hogarth chose to call the line of beauty — and all this not linear but essentially substantial, two-dimensional, opaque, solid, shaped, by which the great scriptorium struck out its identity as a medal is struck, and always, after no matter what incursions and influences, enforced its unforgetting tradition.

The manuscript at the Academia de la Historia was a long time in writing, and some have ascribed it to one Albino;[1] the early pages oriental, mysterious, setting strange ambiguous figures in frames of curious form (ff. 63 v., 68, 83) (Fig. 10). The next stage — but indeed this hand, if one hand it is, ranges all through the volume — prefers to silhouette the figures free upon the parchment. This is a Byzantine device, much practised in Spain. It is also characteristic of the oriental treatises on technical subjects, like the *Dioscorides*, when we first encounter them. Coming back to our codex, suddenly a curtain rises upon an approach to the twelfth century and, if I am not wrong, on the very earliest page the newcomer does his rarest and most characteristic work, continuing through to the close with the help of at least one disciple (fol. 138 v.) and the presence in two places[2] of someone else not unfamiliar with the Byzantine tradition. The banded background now enters in for the first time. Along with it, however, appear the perspective which looks down into a building,[3] and those swift, rushing movements, those crossed legs and writhing hips, that are credited to the English school. The pilgrim,[4] if such he was, trained his scholars and went his way, for the characteristic square head-form of San Millán reappears, and the disposition to treat drapery as material for design.

This was not the first irruption of the English style into Spain. In the Cross on an opening page of this very manuscript, as in certain pages of the Escorial Councils Codex, it would be hard not to acclaim something Anglo-Saxon.

Opening the Beatus now at Burgo de Osma we find along with traits characteristic of the scriptorium of San Millán such interlaced and racing figures as belong by definition to England alone;[5] and the Cross that should at the outset be reared up spanning a whole page is almost undiscoverable, entirely

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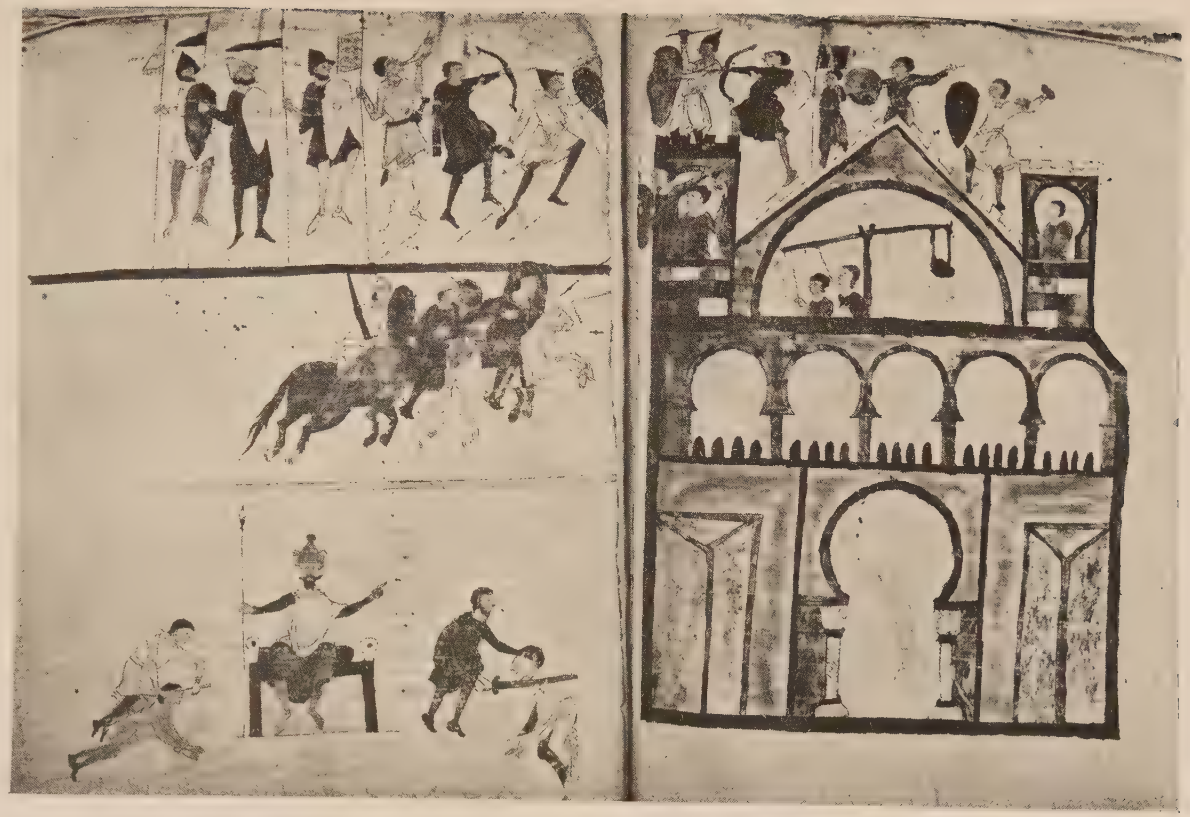
[1] Albino, mentioned in the manuscript by a note in the same hand as the rest, is a fabulous person of the eighth century (A.D. 770) or the copyist of a lost manuscript earlier than the tenth (cf. Blázquez, *op. cit.*, p. 263). The name, however, sticks in one's head: Albinus is the Latin name of Alcuin. The notes in manuscripts of San Millán are, more than most, confusing and irresponsibly unintelligible, and it may be the scribe intended a reference to the great Englishman who called himself Beatus' pupil, in which case his date is probably correct, though not his notion that Alcuin was ever at San Millán. Cf., however, A. Kingsley Porter, *Spanish Romanesqne Sculpture* (Pegasus Press, 1929), I, 51.

[2] A standing angel, f. 183 v., and the Fall of the Dragon, ff. 159 v. and 160.

[3] The convention is one of the things most characteristic in the miniatures of the Berlin Beatus.

[4] See Appendix, Note II.

[5] The racing whippet is not, however, to be found in Spain; and the little beasts (Pl. IV, 5, 7) seem more often to be another breed; cf., moreover, Gómez-Moreno's magnificent initial from San Millán, entirely Asiatic, in *Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. 363, Fig. 199, Domínguez Bordona, *Spanish Illumination* (Pegasus Press, 1930), Pl. 6.



Beccaria phot.

3. The Siege of Jerusalem (Turin, Biblioteca Universitaria-Nazionale) XII Century

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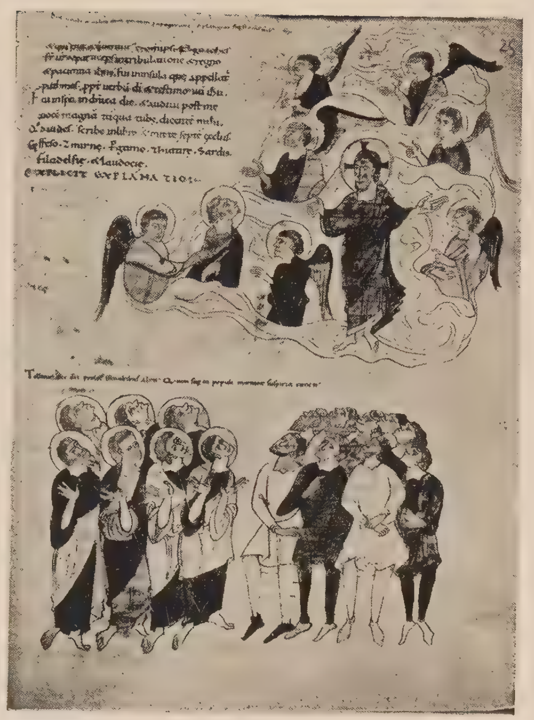

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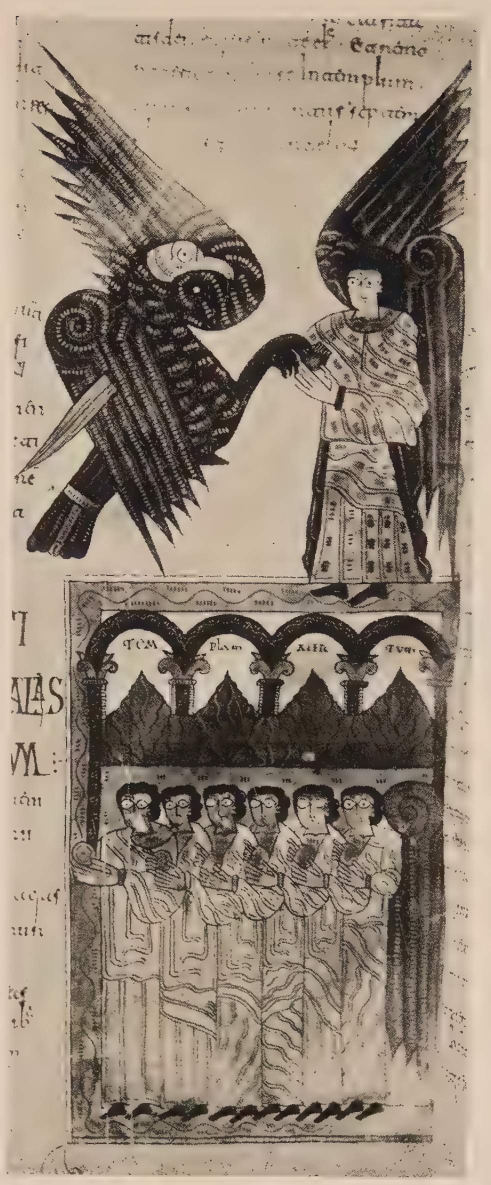
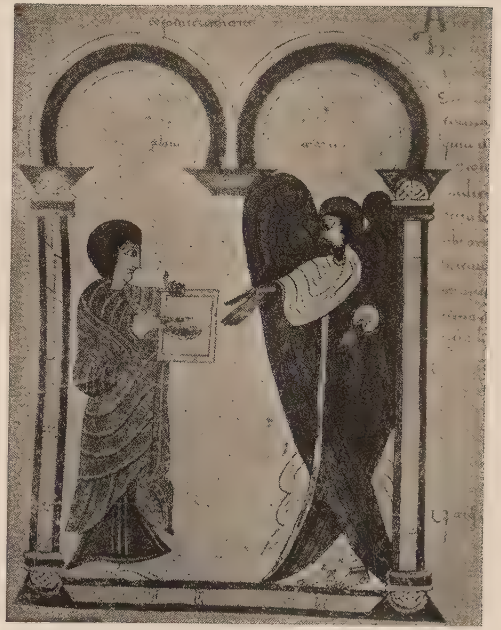
7. The Second Coming (Turin, Biblioteca Universitaria-Nazionale) XII Century



M. Moreno phot.

8. Eagle and Angel (Escorial: from San Millán) X Century



M. Moreno phot.

10. St. John and the Angel (Madrid, Academia de la Historia: from San Millán) X Century

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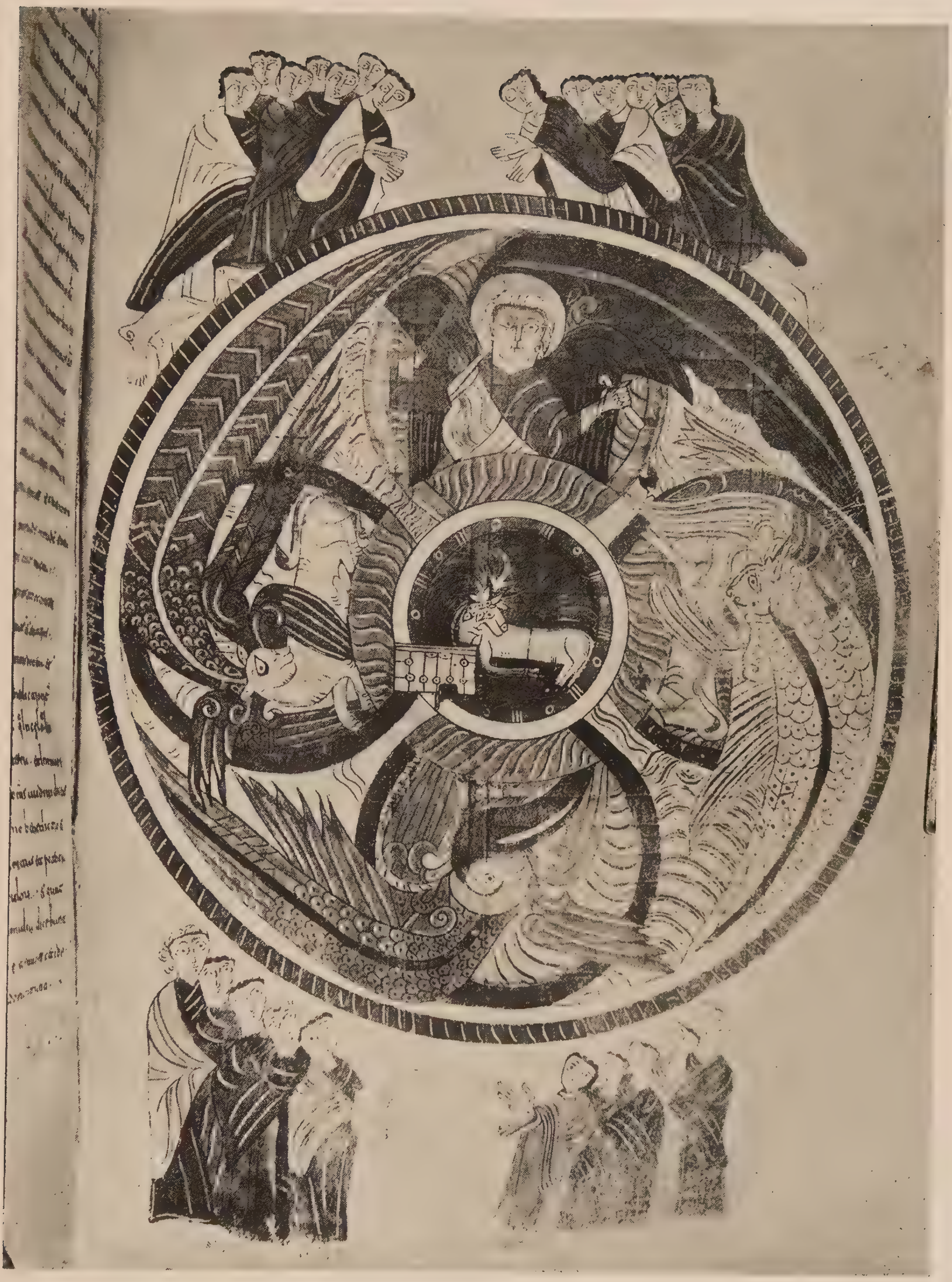

M. Moreno phot.

9. The Glorification of the Lamb (Madrid, Academia de la Historia: from San Millán) X Century

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insignificant, but on the other hand it is jewelled like that of Cynewulf's *Dream.* On other pages some of the decorative frames so characteristic of Albino, just modernized a trifle, imply a working acquaintance with the codex which never left the property of San Millán except to pass to the Academia de la Historia. A third factor is that the face of the Saviour looks like Winchester; but not much else does, and in this part the resemblance to Oviedo is very striking. Indeed it is strong throughout the work of this *Martinus peccator,* with the same elongations and deformations, the same use of line to establish rhythm, even the same imbricated design to represent feathers.[1]

A strange trait, which this western manuscript shares with the far-off Portuguese one, is the idea of making *Meretrix* really a witch (Revelation xviii, 23, and II Kings ix, 22). The fruit thereof is a sinister scene where the ten kings, marching with brandished swords, are burning the witch, who seems to dance among the flames, playing with her long hair as dancers play with scarves, while the Great Serpent and the Beast do her a sort of amorous homage, and the Lamb looks unpleasantly like offspring of the Beast.

This then is the situation: at a Benedictine foundation, ancient and isolated in the West,[2] towards the close of the eleventh century meet converging influences from San Millán and Oviedo, others Anglo-Saxon or English of Winchester, with a strain of folk-lore; they impinge upon a genius fresh and inventive to the last degree. Drawing lines upon the map, these are likely to meet in the mountain wilderness of the Vierzo,[3] at the abbey of Carracedo.

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[1] There are four fine plates taken from the *Libro de los Testamentos* in the article by Professor José Pijoan, *Romanesque Baroque,* in *Art Bulletin,* VIII (1926), 251–254. Comparing portions of Osma fol. 142 with *Test.* fol. 11, the type of design and feature in Osma fol. 73 with *Test.* fol. 1 (where the Witnesses arrayed are transferred bodily from some earlier Beatus but not from Osma), Osma, fol. 155 v. with *Test.* fol. 3, and all these with the Arca Santa (A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston, 1923), Pls. 656–659), we can single out and avouch an archaic, stiff, metallic style at Oviedo which came down into the Vierzo when spring was in flower. The idea that Martín at Carracedo drew from an Asturian source is confirmed by the fact that in the Osma MS. alone does the Map conform exactly to the allocation of the Apostles in the Text.

[2] The western provenance is manifest in the map, where Asturias is represented by the Tower of Hercules, and St. James is in a towered church (all the Apostles are represented by their heads on their domains) like St. Peter. Lisbon is there, and a pink curved line cuts off Spain from the rest. It is interesting to observe that *Faro* is also depicted, on the other side of the Mediterranean — the Pharos of Alexandria.

[3] Two documents are copied on the next to last leaf of the codex: one a part of a bull of Innocent III addressed in 1202 to the Abbot and convent of Carracedo (cf. Angel Manrique, *op. cit.,* III, 406) and the other a letter of *L[upus] Dei gratia Astoricensis ecclesie episc. . . . Abbati et fratribus de Carrazeto.* D. Lope was Bishop of Astorga from 1190 to 1205 (cf. *España Sagrada,* XVI, 222); Férotin, *Apringius de Beja,* p. x, note. The only other thing this could prove would be the manuscript's belonging to a small place dependent on Carracedo, which, taking the beauty of the illumination in conjunction with the importance of the abbey, is most unlikely. Yet strangely enough, something of the sort once did happen. With the history of Carracedo is involved that of San Martín de Castañeda, where the Abbot Severus had been in 941 a patron of one Abbot Dominic, for whom, in 975, the Gerona Beatus was to be copied. In 1150 Castañeda was turned over to the abbey of Carracedo, which had been given to the Cistercians twelve years before (*España Sagrada,* XVI, 45 sq., 484). In 1154 it was freed from the jurisdiction of the Bishop and chapter of Astorga; but received the laws of Cîteaux only in 1207. Cf. Gómez-Moreno, *Provincia de Zamora, Catálogo monumental de España* (Madrid, 1927), I, 190.

The manuscript was still there in the thirteenth century.[1] Reconsidering the sorts of influence that have been identified, it is plain that while Martín was himself familiar with the scriptorium of San Millán, Benedictine likewise, the Anglo-Saxon manuscript was borrowed for use from San Millán or elsewhere for the Vierzo scriptorium, and almost certainly a copy of the *Commentaries* from Oviedo. The Spanish records are full of such incidents: loans by Valcavado to Tábara in the tenth century and by Tábara to Las Huelgas in the thirteenth, just as in the seventh San Braulio was begging to borrow Apringius for Zaragoza, and for his revival of learning in Seville Alfonso X was writing all over the Spains.

Carracedo is, like the Portuguese abbeys of Guimarães and Lorvão, an old Benedictine foundation (A.D. 990) made over to Cistercians and by them made over in their own sense; but in 1086 the incorporation of Santa Marina with the monastery and the rebuilding in the new Gothic style was nearly half a century off in the future. The genius of Martín may have anticipated the coming of spring, though he dwells among his own people. The pages of the Vintage and the Fall of the Dragon express a new idea of what constitutes a composition, and that of the Four Horsemen is little less than a miracle. It is delightful to watch him take an old form, rearranging, modifying, revivifying. Fresh and flowerlike as are these compositions, there is a profounder beauty in the formal design, the Gog and Magog (Fig. 11) that anticipate what Tintoretto was to teach to El Greco, or the seven celestial ministers with vials whose dance is led by a winged angel.

Plainly appears, on examination, how the old canon is observed alongside of the new rhythmic composition, and a close-packed mosaic is employed to represent crowds. The banded background is disused as far as possible, diaper patterns and acanthus courses being introduced with a naïve intention of decoration that would be funny if it were not tiresome. Therewith emerges at a certain point a mastery of rhythm in the pure line, motion and silhouette in repetition and inversion, that is no more English than it is Japanese, but might be the incalculable blossoming of a rare personal genius, more than half oriental, under the stimulus of special conditions.

About the manuscript preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional, which was entered in the Catalogue of the 1924 Exhibition as No. 11, even less is available. Cruelly abused, it has lost all the grand opening and the latter part, and other portions have been cut out, two leaves and two quaternions at the very least from each end being gone, besides other losses. The figure style relates it to the Valcavado group, and in especial to Oveco's own work at the mon-

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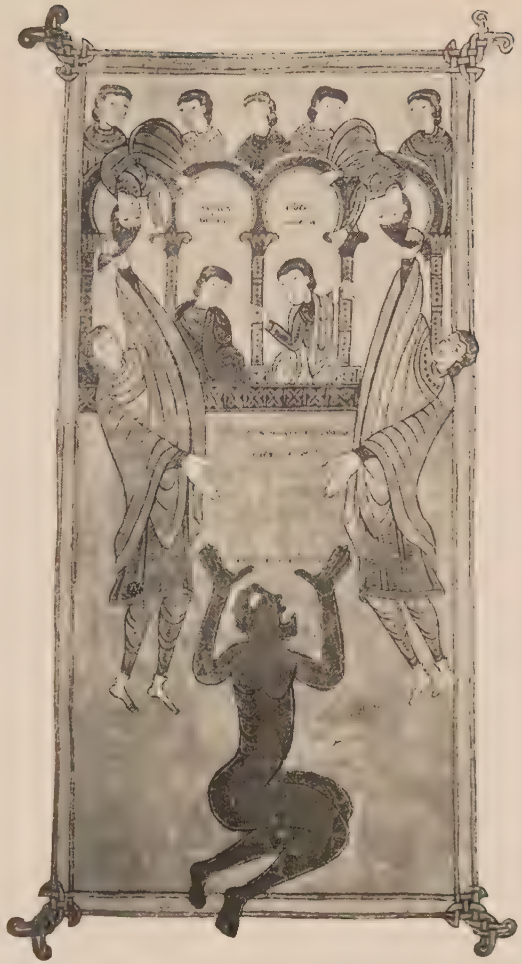
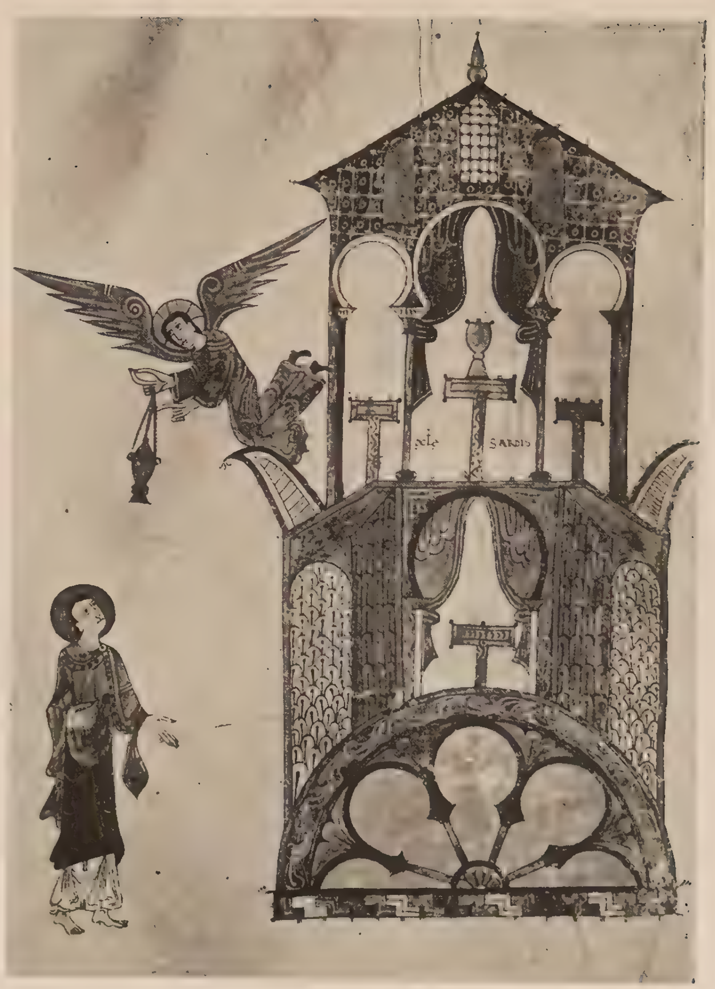
[1] Quadrado, *España, sus monumentos y artes, León*, pp. 643–649. Morales, in his *Viaje*, I, 70, calls it "one of the most principal of the Order" of Cister; continuing: "They have had many books and gave them for old parchment, these however are left. . . " in 1572.



M. Moreno phot.

11. Gog and Magog (Burgo de Osma)
XI Century



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12. The Church of Sardis (Gerona) X Century

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astery (now in Valladolid) by such traits as the movement and convention of the drapery, the action and contours of the nudes, the scheme, despite some modifications, of the Vintage. There is a likeness in countenance, in hands and feet, and perhaps in the wings, to the manner of Florentius[1] as we know it in the Morals of Gregory, dated 943. On the other hand, the banded background seems unknown, instead of which we get in some cases a distribution of free figures on the white field, spacious, with marked interstices, and nowhere packed into the mosaic of color like enamel. There are, moreover, in the opening portion of what we have, a set of compositions framed in metal-work designs which stand nearest logically and chronologically to the lost earlier source of the pictures that Martín was to copy from Albino of San Millán, and which grow away from it as the work proceeds. Borders that suggested metal work were found (Academia de la Historia, ff. 189, 191 v., 311, 197, and perhaps 183 v.) in conjunction with all the different ways of painting practised therein: they represented a constant though not invariable tradition at the abbey of San Millán. So, not all unexpectedly, where the Lamb stands upon the Mount (fol. 177), that hillock was of metal set with gems, like an oddly shaped reliquary. In the manuscript now under consideration the metal-worker's rôle is more important. We have (fol. 23) a plaque of metal, curiously lobed, enamelled, or jewelled, or both in a very superior anticipation of the Osma diaper; again (fol. 28) a tall one, diapered in the upper part; then (fol. 43) an adaptation of this design to the theme of a bolted door and two flanking figures, but the border is more like enamel than jewellery; (fol. 73 v.) a panel picture on a solid blue ground, topped by three green horseshoe arches, their fields red, bearing a palmette and a bird perched on it. In the next stage (fol. 96 v.) the panel, for reasons of design, is rounded below, not above, with metal-work frame, and depends from a wide band of stars topped off by a meander; over all, on the white parchment, an angel trumpeting. The reader has now assisted at a complete change of model in the course of fifty-odd pages, and the rectangular band of decoration is fairly persistent thenceforth. From it once bulges a cloud pierced by the Hand of God, or again in the middle of it is opened a circle enclosing the ark toward which the Beast habitually comes up from the abyss, — and this is one of the unalterable themes throughout the complete Beatus corpus, — but here he lies down and pants, with his back to it, like a watch-dog. The rectangular band of ornament is noted by Ebersolt as characteristic in Byzantine miniature in the eighth and ninth century and thereafter, wherewith it might be dismissed but for two remarks: one, that he selects among his instances one based on Cufic lettering which points the way by which it might have come to Constantinople; the other, that in the manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional these bands, whether stars or meander constitute the pattern, have always a symbolic value as representing heaven. The interlaced meander (fol. 105) recalls of course the borders in Coptic chapel frescoes.

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[1] He worked for an Abbot Abogalebh at Balerânica, which lies nearer to Palencia than to Burgos, on one of the confluents of the Pisuerga, and he is a figure of great interest worth a separate consideration. Cf. *España Sagrada*, X, 475; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, pp. 361 sqq.; Id., *Provincia de León, Catálogo monumental de España*, pp. 159 sq. A page of the manuscript in question is reproduced by W. W. S. Cook, *op. cit.*, in *Art Bulletin*, VIII, (1926), Fig. 14. A notebook remarks that color in bands of titles, e. g., pink edged with scarlet on violet, yellow edged with scarlet on green, and the first again, gives a kind of bloom like a plum. In almost every title the lines are countercharged and alternated, and the effect sought is impressionist bloom and luminarism, not color contrast.

The little Corsini codex, already mentioned as related textually to this manuscript, has a sort of pictorial likeness also which consists mostly in what the two in common lack, the banded backgrounds and the great canonical representations. As in the San Millán tradition, especially the manuscripts at the Academia de la Historia and Osma, so in these miniatures, half-length figures are multiplied to signify a crowd. Take the scene of Christ enthroned between two angels with books: the hair is puffed on either side of the parting in a twelfth-century manner familiar from the Ripoll jamb-statues and the Catalan Bibles, but present potentially in some of the Escorial Beatus miniatures. The background of a colored field and border in contrast is often counter-charged, composed with reference to the dress of the personages, tunic and mantle.[1] The intention of the color composition is for synthesis rather than contrast, and the effect of the designs is more nearly linear than any so far considered, which must be regarded as a sign of the tradition's breaking down.

San Millán being now quite out of the way, the line of investigation comes back at this juncture from the Rioja and the Vierzo, the Asturias and the Campos de los Godos to the Palencian river-basins, and the *locus* at Valcavado. The Valladolid Codex written there by Oveco in 970 is so true to type that it need not detain us. While showing in style a development from Maius' work of more than forty years earlier, in such things as conversational gesture and rushing movement, and recognition of forms underneath the curving lines of drapery, the result is an aspect of drama, or of realism, or of folk-dancing, or an effect of interior in one of the Seven Churches (fol. 48) contrived ingenuously but as pleasantly as Velázquez's Christ in the House of Martha. There are studies of the nude immeasurably simple but observed from the life, one like an "instantaneous" of a fat athlete doing the high jump (fol. 101 v.), elsewhere (fol. 120) a contour the precursor of the Rokeby Venus. Where St. John takes the reed and measures the temple, the church with its wide chalet roof of overlapping curved tiles is entirely exact in its suggestion.

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[1] Take for instance: fol. 55, scarlet ground, violet border; fol. 166, scarlet ground, lilac border; cf. fol. 116, lilac ground, scarlet border. Elsewhere an angel scarlet and yellow is combined with scarlet, lilac, and grey-blue; or the ground is colorless but the border scarlet and the dress deep greenish-blue and scarlet; or border and angel scarlet adjacent to deep green-blue in tunic, hair, and vial.

Indeed it is necessary to affirm here the veracity, so far as observation is possible, of the architecture in these manuscripts as in many others. The painter has his convention of simplification, just as Giotto had, but as the background of the Raising of Drusiana tells what Giotto saw when he lived in Padua and visited Venice, so the *Templum apertum* portrays schematically a church of the type called *triconch*, and the church of Sardis (Fig. 12) reveals that whoever was painting that page of the Gerona manuscript had acquaintance with a polygonal two-storied church with a crypt,[1] like St.-Benigne, and Fulda, and Aachen. The prototype of these he was in a better position to know — the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Nor is that the only crypt. The true dome that was known only by hearsay to the Carolingian limners, may be securely identified in the Apocalypse of St.-Sever, with windows in the arcading of the drum. The plain little churches of the Urgel manuscript (*c.* 1040) more than once suggest the Pyrenean Mozarabic chapels, and the First Romanesque style of Catalonia, as where the artist in the Siege of Jerusalem breaks away from his model to depict parallel barrel-vaulted aisles, and on another page with deliberate pains draws over his aisles those quadrant or half-barrel vaults which are found on both sides the Eastern Pyrenees. The Persian or Mesopotamian façade that Emeterius twice delineated is no more surprising, no more true to the Asian ambiance, than the representation of the New Jerusalem in the terms of Ukhaidir or Samarra, where the Gerona miniature will bear comparison with the photographs of Miss Lowthian Bell.[2]

For the latest and loveliest of the Leonese codices, that called "of Ferdinand the Great," there is little to do except, like Facundo who wrote it, to give God thanks. In the nearly three hundred years since Beatus looked at his first copy finished, this Mozarabic art has risen, grown, asserted itself in actuality, drama, palpable form, free movement in space; and then it has put away all that deliberately, turning inward. The solemn figures with their ritual gestures, their sacred dancing, their trumpets and sounding strings, slow-moving as hierarchs of the inner sanctuaries, recollected, impassible — what have they to do with the Visigothic ancestry, or the Romanesque civilization which the mighty Ferdinand was bringing down upon Spain? Theirs is a more ancient lineage, a temper attuned to infinitude. The attitude of humanism is denied, the claim of art as representation is disallowed. Not only out of the exquisite delicacy of the members, the chiselled noses, the slender throats, the tiny hands and feet, not only out of the tall and quiet grace of those that live in kings' houses, or the incredible refinement of studied gesture and large-eyed apprehension, but out of pure subtlety of line, out of sheer magnificence of color, the pattern is built up, the splendor is manifested, the mysterious emotion is evoked. *Ubi mulier sedet super bestia*, the ominous deep blue of heaven lowers and the desert wind blows over flame-colored sands, as when the Queen of the South came to marvel and beguile. (Fig. 13). The angel who trumpets for the seventh time hangs in deep green against a scarlet band, pale yellow being above and the wings deep blue — with the level trumpet, level gesture, level wings on the yellow air and the deep sky with stars dipping down on one side; and when the Temple is opened on deep grey and the eagle flies down over yellow to the seven angels ranged with their vials against sardonyx and serpentine, there breathes the same deep solemnity.

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[1] This is not the one in Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Katalanische Bibelillustration* (Bonn, 1922), Fig. 49, but a finer one, the source of that; having at the bottom something that resembles at first glance a wheel or rose window, which is really the projection in a sort of isometric convention of the pillared crypt and its annular vault.

[2] In decoration the early pages of Oveco challenge comparison not only with the Mozarabic Antiphonary at León but with the Gallican Sacramentaries that go back to the Mozarabic in ritual and likewise in ornament. Cf. Neale, as cited in Appendix, Note I. His little birds, cocks, peacocks, etc., associate him with manuscripts of Luxeuil and northeastern France, as the small ornamented crosses interlink his with work of the young Maius fifty years before. But with regret all discussion of ornament must be waived here for want of space.

In all the pattern, in all the pure color-designing, the landscape sense that was so strong in Maius is never really repudiated: whether, as in the emptying of the vials on the earth and then over the sea, — depicted in a pair of broad framed pictures, — the wide reach of tilth and desert is only less troubling than the level sky-line above the curling waters of the ocean stream; or whether the two deathless Witnesses are standing between green trees in Paradise, and the quenchless lamps are burning overhead. Landscape is indeed the only visible art, as Schopenhauer reflected, that can set the soul free from the self; but the same end is gained by a symbolic expression, provided only the symbols are not too explicit — that is, too realistic — in values of representation. Take the scene of the Souls under the Altar: in the Albino manuscript, plump little nudities standing in their white stoles and nothing else, undeniably funny.[1] Facundo arrays his multitude below in adoration with veiled hands; and above in wide spaces against strong bands of burning color sets the altar, the hanging lamps, the votive crowns, the white birds which are *las ánimas*, and the mysterious half-figure, cowled, who broods yet blesses, who is perhaps in ecstasy.

Or compare with the pages (ff. 8 v. and 9) which stand for the Evangelist Mark: the lion above, *vox clamantis in deserto*, on the left a seated figure to whom another does humble service, on the right a silent twain, strong-winged — compare, I do not say such versions as Carolingian art compiled, but even the best of the Hellenistic inheritance. At best you get a beautiful and allegorical picture like David with Echo, or Isaiah between Night and Morning, quite cold, quite artificial, quite imitative. The keener delight that Beatus can yield, more subtle and more penetrant, is due in part to the continuity and dominance of symbolic values, in greater part to the ascendancy of convention and repudiation of representation, most of all to the power of color as the formal condition, by which this art approaches more nearly than any entirely Western to the state of music.

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[1] The rendering of the Berlin Beatus, however, is happier: the altar set in a three-aisled church under a grand barrel-vaulting, while in a lofty crypt the "convent of white stoles" receive their raiment from the Hand of God. It is really a stole, in the central part at least; yet the whole is picturesque and charming.

Like the west portal of Chartres, the Facundo manuscript marks the end of an epoch, the conclusion of a complete and self-conscious art. The mysterious beauty of the Queens of Chartres has much in common with these subtile Evangelists, majestic in their aloofness. But the beauty of Chartres is one of form, and that of Facundo, of color.

VI

The Gerona codex shows enough pages in the Valcavado style to substantiate the claim of Emeterius to be the pupil of Maius.[1] It has, however, other constituents which set it at the head of the list when another tradition comes to be computed. The other series is complicated with cross-currents and interrelations,[2] but consists, — basing the reckoning in both choice of theme and style of painting, — (1) of the titular manuscript, the latter part of that of the Academia de la Historia, St.-Sever, and Turin; then, still somehow in the same line of descent, (2) Arroyo and the Rylands manuscript, the Roncesvalles, that in the Museo Arqueológico, and *Burgensis*.

Before all else the manuscript of Gerona is remarkable, along with an Apocalypse in Paris (not Beatus), for including a representation very rare in Mozarabic miniature, that of the Crucifixion. Despite the presence of the two thieves and the activities of the sacred narrative, it is surcharged with symbolism and iconographically of the highest importance for the Spanish tradition, as showing, for instance, how "Adam lay y-bounden" in a winding-sheet and sarcophagus, and how the leafage which is noticeable about the feet of the Lord at Santiago is here springing up against the bottom of the Cross.

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[1] The Abbot Dominic, according to antique documents, said Bofarull y Sans, *op. cit.*, p. 507, was living more than thirty years before the execution of the codex, and as abbot witnessed a document — a privilege given by the King of León (Ramiro II?) to San Martín de Castañeda and its Abbot Severus in 941, at Zamora, where Abbot Dominic was accompanying the Abbot Severus. Castañeda had been founded by Abbot Martín of Córdoba and his monks, who all came hither about 916 from Mouzute in the Tierra de Campos; and the church was rebuilt by Abbot John of Córdoba in 921. (M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, pp. 107, 167 sq., 173; Idem, *Zamora*, I, 69–72, 190 sq.) It is hard to believe that Dominic had not, in the course of years, been translated from some tiny monastery dependent on Castañeda to the abbacy there on the Lake of Sanabria, as it is hard to believe that Emeterius, on finishing the Tábara copy of Beatus, had not been called or recalled thither. Simple inspection of Stieler's atlas reveals how inevitably the highway runs past Tábara to Puebla de Sanabria whence the river-bottom of the Tera offers a pathway into the mountains around the lake. Both Tábara and Castañeda are situate in the diocese of Astorga and within the present province of Zamora. At Castañeda he found a Mozarabic culture not only derived from Córdoba at the opening of the century, but refreshed at about the time when Maius had been at work in Valcavado. The Becerro of Castañeda when it is published may conceivably yield a little more information, but I judge that it has already been examined by Sr. Gómez-Moreno as well as Bofarull y Sans.

[2] For instance, the bird and serpent of Gerona and St.-Sever is found in the Urgel manuscript, and in the Morals of Gregory.

The Triumph of the Cross[1] is on the Rylands page repeated with variants, and, facing that, the Pantocrator enthroned between sun and moon is copied in much the same way, keeping the enframing interlace of lozenge and quatrefoil that provides places for the Evangelical Creatures and setting (as at St.-Sever) a fine pair of walking angels rather absurdly to bear up the whole, where Gerona had mysterious winged nudes, preserved in the Turin copy, but omitting the flying angels overhead and the dumb-bell mandorla of Christ, who inexplicably holds *mundus*, the orb of the world, in His right hand, a crescent hanging, however, in the field at His left. It looks as though the Saviour's feet were resting here in green leafage, as at Santiago. The Paris manuscript[2] is equally mystical in intention; it shows (fol. 15 v.) Enoch and Elias looking at the Crucified.

In these two Apocalypses of Gerona and Turin, and in those of St.-Sever and Rylands, the episode of the Four Horsemen is treated formally and includes the four Evangelical Creatures, with the *Agnus Dei* once or repeated four times. In that of Gerona, the Lamb dominates all from the *Tronus;* beside and somewhat below it, on either side, the two Evangelical Creatures are pointing and dragging St. John by the hand, with a swiftness of motion that is as though whirling upon their wheels, while in the next section two of the Horsemen move and act freely, the line below their horses' feet cutting off the section and allowing a recommencement below, with the other two Creatures and reduplicated Apostle and the other Horsemen, and a kind of bogy, winged and clawed, mopping and mowing after the last of them. As composition it is plausible and dramatic in a way, somewhat illusionistic. In St.-Sever, the double page looks like a polo game, the four riders not processional but interacting, the four St. Johns standing tranquil, the four little Creatures fluttering about, the four Lambs set in corners out of the way, like seals on a Japanese painting. The bogy is absent, or perhaps has coalesced with the fourth rider, whose locks of hair are flame-shaped like those of devils on French Romanesque capitals, a convention repeated often in this manuscript and discoverable in that of Silos. Rylands in the twelfth century cuts up the field strictly into four levels and sets the Lamb in the middle of the highest, leaves Creatures and Evangelist in animated converse in their sections, without relaxing the firm grip on the wrist, and restores the bogy, in a shaggy fell, to whom the Rider on the white horse points out the

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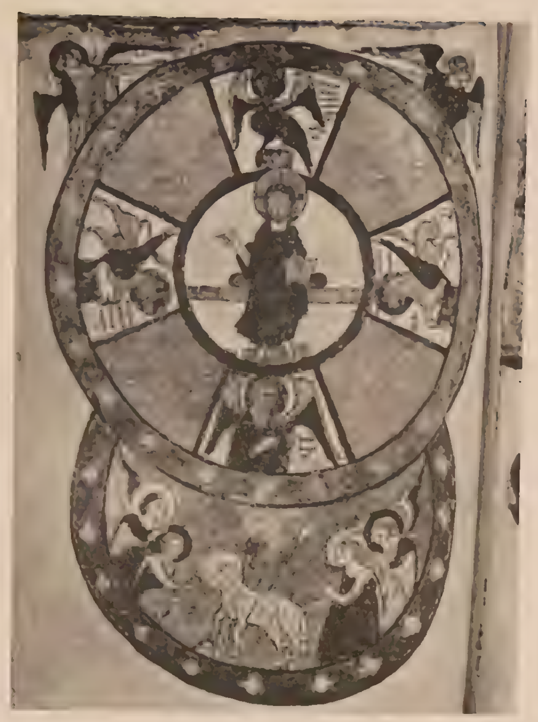
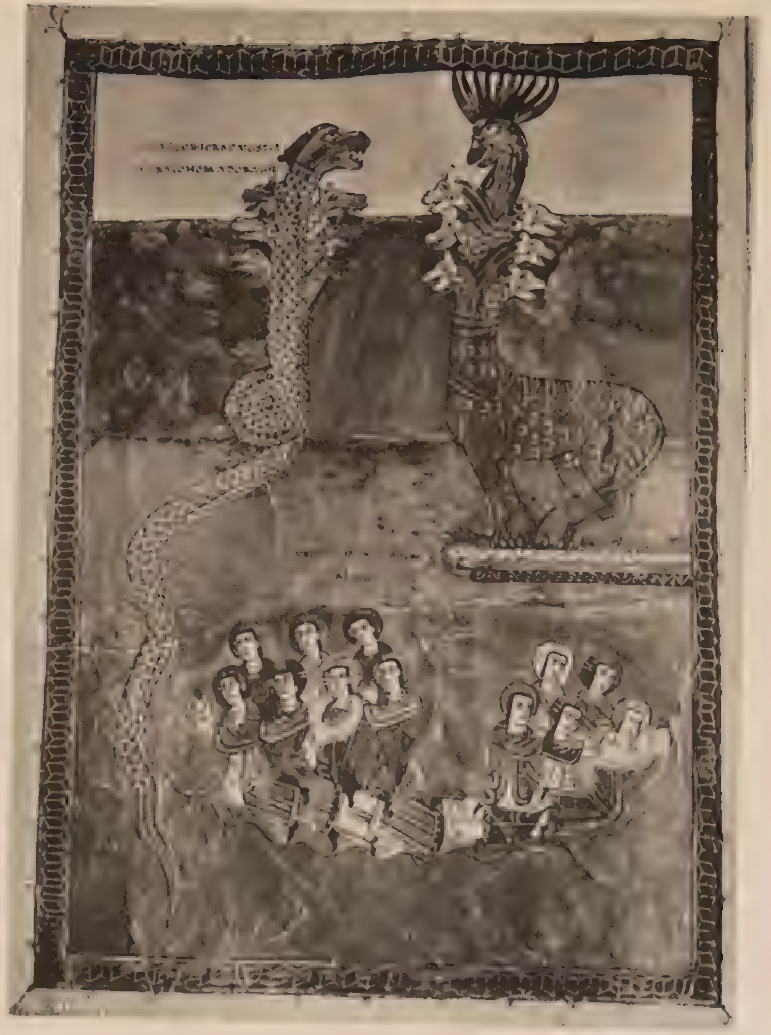
[1] Compare also, with this, the Lamb in a Turin miniature (Fig. 14).

[2] The Paris MS. (N. A. Lat. 1132) here touched on as Apocalypse confines the coloring chiefly to blue and yellow, breaks down into mere pen drawing, and comes to an end untimely, but not before thoroughly trying out the representation of walking by legs crossed and by legs forked in a welter of inconsistency.



[illegible] phot.

14. The Triumph of the Lamb (Turin.
Biblioteca Universitaria-Nazionale)
XII Century



Mas phot.

15. The Two Beasts (Gerona) X Century

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
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scales of his predecessor. At Turin the field is quartered and the Lamb set at the top on a sort of scutcheon of pretense. Each of the upright rectangles carries the Evangelist and St. John in the upper half and the rider below, but St. Matthew and St. Mark have changed places; while the figure of Hell is the same bird-like abortion, furred and feathered, that may be seen in Raphael's little St. Michael and in some of the Hells of Flanders. It remains only for the manuscript of San Andrés to turn the figure of Death into a horned monster and adumbrate the model for Dürer's Sintram composition. The progression had been from a pure and consciously ancestral art, through *genre*, to one formal and conventional, thence to the decorative and grotesque.

The same evolution may be traced in the theme that has here been designated as Hell's Chivalry (Revelation ix, 16–19). The Gerona page, subordinating as always the banded background, remains pictorial, free-moving, credible like a ballet on the stage, with fire-breathing steeds and all; Rylands is silhouetted, symmetrical, with sudden naturalism ready at hand for the figures of that third part of mankind who died; a superb thirteenth-century text treats it heraldically, quartering the field and embedding therein figures of marked orientalism, indescribable in beauty and distinction[1]; that of Roncesvalles swings off into comedy like Daumier's, which has a social and satiric bearing — the savage old beast Abaddon followed by sorry troopers cruelly caricatured.

One other sequence must perforce suffice: the passage (Revelation viii, 7) where at the first angel's trumpeting with hail and fire the green things of earth are burnt up. In the tall rectangular panel here, the design remains, in Gerona, purely decorative; in Rylands it renders landscape as Giotto did through conventions easily acceptable; by the thirteenth century the feeling for nature is exquisitely expressive and has made a new linear convention with spacial rhythms; but St.-Sever, in altering the shape of the picture and substituting a new set of conventions, devised in the twelfth century something more comparable with Hokusai.

It should now be apparent how a canon of representation, though modified in development, may keep its place within the confines of a tradition, provided always that the art is racial, self-conscious, and at one with itself.

Syncopating rashly, Professor Pijoan said once[2] that the Gerona codex was written at Córdoba; that does not seem possible, but his impulse came of course from the non-European aspect of the painting. The fantastical ornamentation of the Seven Churches, the patterning of the clouds like enormous coarse leaves, are examples of indifference to actuality, but the same hand which painted the two subjects just cited is accountable also for the Witnesses of the Resurrection, for the Moslem rider in close vest and flying turban, the Epiphany scenes which include a lady whom the Apocalypse called Jezebel receiving company in bed, and the One among candlesticks where St. John as suppliant lays hold of the Lord's bare foot with delicate and exquisite hands. The mingling of convention and veracity and grotesque, of pure ornament and what can only be called conscious realism, in the Hunting of the Beast, is inexplicable. Set among formal designs and a diabolical tetramorph, with a mystical prophecy of hope inscribed over the arch, appears a sort of Harrowing of Hell (Revelation xx, 13) which figures here alone among the manuscripts and is adapted to confirm a doctrine of Purgatory, while elsewhere, in Silos and Rylands and San Andrés de Arroyo, Hell betrays a complete finality, and therein discomposing possibilities of recognition. Illusionist art survives here, conscious, with its spacial composition, color contrasts, a sort of lifting and aërating towards the top.

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[1] This is Morgan MS. No. 429. Cf. W. W. S. Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia*, IV, in *Art Bulletin*, VIII (1926), fig. 71.

[2] José Pijoan, *Historia del Arte* (Barcelona, 1915), II, 311.

Besides this, the best instances of illusionism are the Fall of the Dragon, full of movement and space but less fine grotesque than where the two Beasts rearing up from earth and sea grin in each other's teeth (Fig. 15); the shrouded figures of Enoch and Elias standing on pedestals against a banded background under a horseshoe portal; and the twelve Apostles walking in a garden in the cool of the day. Two of them have the marked countenance which we call Jewish and a third, of exceptional height, is conceived as an Arab philosopher.

The problem of Gerona has not been faced, it has not even been admitted. The solution will have to be worked out in presence of the miniatures. Banded backgrounds are not absent but they become subordinate, in part from the appearance of other ornament on the white page: the delightful Persian–Seljuk dragon with a turned-up tail (cf. Pl. IV, 17), magnificent griffins walking among trees, and an episode where four rabbits are disposed among three trees. The color is not so deep on the whole, the scarlet being paler and thinner, and the yellow less used. Calling this Beatus more truly Mozarabic, comparable to the *Hispalensis*, is one way to assert the manifest difference from everything that has been regarded so far, but it neither explains nor defines even if it describes.[1]

Indeed an expert orientalist is needed in the field. We get nowhere by saying that on the frontispiece of St.-Sever a Cufic inscription is interwoven with the pattern and that across the back of the seat in a miniature of No. 11 the tall Cufic letters are simulated; that the Chivalry of Hell wear folded turbans in the Gerona codex and the *Burgensis*, and that in all the early manuscripts, as late as Facundo, figures are seated cross-legged on cushions, or in a posture which is familiar through all the East, ranging from Chinese Boddhisatvas of the sixth century to Persian princesses of the fifteenth (cf. Pl. I). So sits, in those of the lineage of San Millán, the Saviour; in the Gerona tradition, the Woman in the Wilderness; in them all, the Woman who is beguiling the Kings of the Earth. The scimetar which went out of the mouth of Him among the candlesticks, the slender *djerrid* used for the lance-playing by Arab horsemen, are only single instances chosen from a list that grows longer with the progress of Islamic studies. In plain lettering on a background at Urgel, *anti christus Jeitan* presents the Arab Sheitan: Tâbara and various others are glossed in Arabic, among them I think No. 11, but I am not able to supply a list of these.

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[1] The description, however, confirms the unblemished Mozarabic pedigree which has here been propounded. The Rylands manuscript, which was sold with the library of the Marquis of Astorga, and that of Turin, are directly indebted to this one and must be assigned to the same parts — the southern and western slopes of the mountains of León; while that from Osma came into being across the watershed, nearer to the Cantabrian Sea. In the Turin map, along with a sufficiency of Narbona, Caesar Augusta, Betica, and the River Tagus we see, at the sea's edge, *Sci. Jacobi Apti*. This instance is all but unique; and quite so is a double-page composition (fol. 3) apparently astrological.

The orientalism permeates the books, suffuses the art, impregnates the imagination. The atmosphere, however, is constituted by concrete details,[1] if one traces them, like the identity of tree forms in known manuscripts east and west, or the convention employed to represent mountains, which comes from Mesopotamia and was to pass also into Persia and be affected by the Mongol. It is conceivable that the round fair countenance which appears suddenly in *Burgensis*[2] and is quite un-Gothic, should be derivative in part from the early Arab manuscripts dealing with secular and scientific subjects.

The study of Beatus is beset with surprises, not least of which is this: that the Persian–Mesopotamian influence which is recognizable, undeniable, came into Spain by manuscripts earlier than any now extant. Beatus is the witness for the earliest Islamic miniatures.[3] This is not so unlikely, given the conditions in Spain between the sixth century and the sixteenth. For six hundred years the currents flowed in from the East, carrying treasure of every kind, then set the other way. When at Granada he burned the books, Cisneros [4] was not the first; caliphs had done the same before, from motives identical; the library of the Marquis of Villena, especially rich in Arabic and Hebrew, had to suffer the same fate as Don Quixote's romances of chivalry. When Bagdad fell just ten years after Seville the destruction had been enormous. Yet it has been said that after the fall of Seville the Moorish exiles recovered some part of their books and carried them back to Africa; this transportation, like the coming of a few North-African manuscripts to Visigothic Spain, must stay in the status of legend till I can authenticate both.

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[1] Briefly enumerated, among the oriental factors of this group of MSS. — counting together Beatus, Florencio, the *Albeldensis* and *Emilianensis*, the *Hispalensis*, etc., and leaving out all decoration — are the following: (1) the comprehension of color, its use, and especially the color-mosaic; (2) the types of countenance, either Mesopotamian or Semitic, like the faces of seraphim and angels in the Morals of Gregory, Nahum in the *Hispalensis* Pl. I, some Apostles in Gerona, the convention of a profile, Pl. II, with the strange St. Matthew of Albino whose dewlaps on each side the face are but the long ear-lobes of a Buddha, fig. 9; cf. Pl. I, 2; (3) the postures just enumerated above, cf. Pl. I; (4) the flora, Pl. III; (5) the fauna, Pl. IV, with the Persian bull and hunting-eagle of the *Hispalensis*, and Gerona eagle and gazelle in Domínguez Bordona, *op. cit.*, Pl. 16.

[2] Cf. W. W. S. Cook, *op. cit.*, in *Art Bulletin*, VIII, no. 2 (1925), Fig. 21; VIII, no. 4 (1926), Figs. 7 and 16, but more than all take X, no. 2 (1927), Fig. 25 for comparison with Kühnel, *Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Abb. 3–22. There is indeed a faintly Cistercian head recurrent in this manuscript and rather different from the one meant, unlike in the technical rendering of hair and eyelids, as will appear on comparison with Oursel, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII and XX.

[3] *Pace* Prof. Grohmann and his Coptic fragments, though Th. Frimmel remarked on Spanish parallels thereto nearly fifty years ago: T. W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book* (Pegasus Press, 1929).

[4] Julián Ribera's study, *Bibliófilos y Bibliotecas en la España Musulmana*, is illuminating.

Señor Gómez-Moreno is reluctant to call any of our books Mozarabic. They are Christian work, at any rate, compounded of elements Latin, Byzantine, Alexandrian, Anglo-Saxon, on the one hand, and on the other both pieced out and interpenetrated and determined by what came by Moslem ways and through the Western Caliphate; produced during the Mozarabic epoch in those parts, namely Liébana, the Vierzo and southeastern León with the Rioja, Galicia perhaps, Asturias almost certainly, where other forms of Mozarabic art flourished. Just why the Palencian region should have offered so rich a soil, so kind an air, it is not possible to say,[1] but apparently all along the confluents of the Pisuerga and through the Tierra de Campos conditions peculiarly favorable obtained. In the Mozarabic liturgies we come upon a seventh-century Bishop of Palencia, Conantius, who was a poet, a musician, who found new music for the Psalms, did his part in composing the Offices, enriching them.[2] A study of the *Apostolados* published not very long ago showed the same thing happening to a special sculptural form between the twelfth century and the fourteenth.[3] It may not be amiss to recall that Palencia was the site selected by Alfonso VIII of Castile to found the earliest Spanish university, though Burgos and Toledo were the cities of his predilection. Strzygowski's theory of hothouse-culture in oases has a way of exemplifying itself and this must be accepted as another instance.

Here is neither space nor occasion to discuss the characteristics of the Apocalypse of St.-Sever, where the work of two hands is plainly to be distinguished in both writing and illumination; the one much finer, more Spanish and more Oriental in the limning, and more exquisite in the script. The appearance of Tarazona and Lérida on the map, in this manuscript, suggests that Stephanus Garsea who copied it for Abbot Muntaner, was an Aragonese from this Mudéjar region. Nor may I venture without examination of the manuscript to say more of the Berlin Beatus than that the painting seems to be completely unlike No. 11 and the Corsini codex or any other known to me. Two hands may be distinguished by difference in the drawing though the style is homogeneous.[1] The woman on the Beast is cantering through a well-wooded park; angels hold the Four Winds in a garden. The Glorification of the Lamb is rather magnificently composed, like a tall altar-piece, the Elders prostrating themselves in successive ranks, three by three, on the right hand and on the left, in oriental obeisance, crowned and with veiled hands, below; the Four Creatures about the Lamb are upborne on triple wings, among and about whom hang the seven candlesticks conceived as mosque lamps. One exactly like them hangs in a palace in a manuscript of Al-Biruni (A.D. 1000), copied in 1307 at Ghazni.[2] The wings, however, recall those in Coptic frescoes, the lion's face is like those in Catalan apse-frescoes which indicate the same direction, and the lamps were then swinging in the mosques of Babylon of Egypt.

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[1] Cf. Almaraz, *El Real Monasterio de San Andrés de Arroyo* in *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*, XXXVI (1900), 210.

[2] Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les manuscrits Mozarabes* (Paris, 1912), p. xv.

[3] Right among all the *Apostolados* lies San Andrés de Arroyo, as a glance at the map will show, with a parish of Moarves part of its domain.

In the Castilian uplands meanwhile the climate was severer. A quaint phrase indited by an English collector is more applicable to the style of Silos than to his own treasure, how "the rude Spaniard had evidently seen [some manuscript] and in his barbaric way carefully imitated it." Of the twelve Silos Manuscripts now in London,[3] one contains the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory, ten are liturgical, and the last is the great Beatus finished one Friday noon in the month of April, 1091.[4] All these being service-books of the Mozarabic Rite, it seems fair enough to call them Mozarabic, also.

In spite of the "barbaric" style at Silos, the Beatus miniatures remain, notwithstanding, within the traditional limits and present the traditional themes, at times with great magnificence, breaking off into pure decoration at every opportunity. A good deal of explicit relation to Gerona, a few new Oriental traits, moments of realism, a return upon the true color-mosaic in the interest not of contrast but of unity — these are all perhaps explicable. Yet they have little to do with the history of the abbey and the relations it sustained with Monte Cassino and with the abbeys and courts of the south of France. That the work was begun in the year Santo Domingo died, and all about those hills and river-bottoms as it went on My Cid Ruy Diaz was raiding or ruling, you would never guess. The sculpture of the cloister was a thing apart, which was indeed once to set a seal upon the codex of Las Huelgas in the thirteenth century, but the true correlation of the manuscript is with the other industrial arts, and appears in such things as the gold chalice, still there preserved.

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[1] Cf. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–22.

[2] Or at any rate by one who knew the manuscripts there, if Sir T. W. Arnold conjectures aright. *Op. cit.*, p. 68, Pl. 37.

[3] Initials selected out of the Silos codices now in London were published years ago by the President of the Hispanic Society and up to this day of writing they remain the only worthy color-reproductions from all the Mozarabic manuscripts: Archer M. Huntington, *Initials and Miniatures . . . from the Mozarabic Manuscripts of Santo Domingo de Silos in the British Museum,* New York, 1904. Some of them resemble very closely the Leonese Mozarabic Antiphonary (*c.* 1066) with its chanting cadence of pale scarlet and jade-green, its wild splendor of repudiation when the human form is expected, so that like the notorious lady whose left eye did not interest M. Henri Matisse, these figures may want an eye, a chin, a nose, or face the world with the jaw contour uncompleted. The Catálogo of Domínguez Bordona includes four colour-plates out of the Beatus MSS.

[4] *Perfectus est igitur hic liber diemque temporis XIIII kal. maii, hora VI, die V feria, sub era TCXXVIIII.*

The banded backgrounds are breaking down by the process which Dr. Diez calls the textilization of design, and are powdered all over by little dots in pyramid or quincunx. It is likely to happen anywhere at a certain stage and needs no presumption of contamination. Silos, however, is near enough on the map to Cardeña and in style to the Rylands Beatus to allow for interrelations; on the other hand, the backgrounds of Catalan frescoes came to the same thing on their own account.

Midway between Gerona and *Burgensis* the Silos Beatus stands. The parallels to its slightly earlier contemporary of St.-Sever that may be traced must perhaps be laid to the domicile farther eastward than most of the series and the greater freedom of European contact enjoyed. One consequence is perhaps the decorative introduction of roundels into the page, such as St.-Sever employed for the *Agnus Dei* in the Four Horsemen composition. These Roncesvalles arranged in clumsy relation to the *Agnus Dei*, and Silos distributed neatly in the pre-Carolingian scheme, as seen, for instance, in the eighth-century Gospels of Gundohinus, on a field of leafage, zoömorphic and human-headed.[1] The same theme is treated at Lisbon by enclosing four circles in a circle and overlaying them by another which contains the *Agnus Dei*; the four supporting angels outside helping to indicate the place of the page in the canonical series.

A debt, however, there is to the Rioja, not so far away from Castile, apparent in the square-topped heads of San Millán, and a costume, in such scenes as the Musicians before the Image, like the Council figures of the *Albeldensis*, and, more generally, in the massing and movement, a resemblance to the Escorial Beatus. Always, there is a disposition to return upon design. As in the pyramidal crowd at the Second Coming, or the convent of white-stoles below *las ánimas*, so for the Lamb on the Mount, the scheme [2] that represents presumably something like wooded Lebanon is completely symmetrical and its intricate repetition, its fixed alternation of pale and dark, yields an extraordinary pattern, the two halves of the field being counter-charged. The dancing figures, five on a side, are symmetrical in their disposition of color but not in their motion.

Marvellous dancing it is, as well as that of the two jongleurs on clogs; but indeed all the Beatus manuscripts are full of ritual and folk dancing.[3] My colleague Dr. Gillet has published some notes on the dancing in Spanish churches and promises more; Beatus sustains him throughout the centuries. Other folk-lore traits may be discerned. If the twelfth-century jaws of Hell are not to be accounted popular, the name cannot be denied to the Hell of Silos. Outside a quatrefoil stands the Weigher of Souls, wingless; a devil tampering with his scales is about to feel his weapon; at the very centre Dives suffers from serpents and bugs and the attention of two devils with pitchforks; the implement of another is stirring up two lovers in bed (Pl. VI). Aucassin and Dante are anticipated here, but the motive as copied was not European and I know no parallel in Western art. It belongs to the Islamic cycle, for with a different context the composition reappears identical long afterwards in a sixteenth-century manuscript of the Shahnameh. The space of nearly three generations had already elapsed between the death of Firdusi and the painting of a Castilian monk, for whom "Saracen" captives, trained artists and literate,[1] were daily companions. To attest this, the cloister capitals and the abbot's miracles are apt in time and place. When at Moissac lust and avarice were to be portrayed it was otherwise. So the folk art of the Middle Ages brought East and West to lie down in hell together.

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[1] The border of the great roundel is ornamented by the half-palmette scroll used at San Pedro de Arlanza near by, and long since recognized as an Arab or Mudéjar motive.

[2] It is a very close adaptation of the scheme of the Escorial Beatus.

[3] Students of folk dancing should profit by all the variety; to suggest only a few: the interlocked arms, the clapping hands, the waving of long sleeves, the crossed legs, and the figure of squatting-and-spring, familiar in Russia and Galicia both.

Some evidence of the witch-cult exists also; in the Romanesque manuscript the Beast is figured one time all too like the monstrous form that presided at the witches' Sabbath;[2] in that of Osma the head and hind quarter of a goat are brought into juxtaposition with *Zezebel Meretrix* the Sorceress and an *Ydolo*; and over in the west, at Lorvão, the Crowned Woman is certainly a witch woman, her spells and magic diagrams filling the air before her. She stands upon the croup of the advancing Beast, rather like a wolf, who is split along the back to show the five heads of those he has devoured — which naïve representation brings us back into the kindly world of folk and fairy tales.[3] The dragon city, set between St. John and Daniel in nearly all the manuscripts, is another vision out of myth or folk tale. Indeed the peasantry and *genre* figures that occur, as in the Vintage (Fig. 16), are pleasantly distinguished, almost pastoral, not only in the parts of León but in the Rylands miniatures, for instance, and that makes one reason for allowing it to a Leonese source.

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[1] In a document signed by Santo Domingo himself, dealing with the reversion of some books to Silos (one of them being Dom Morin's *Liber Comicus*, which is thereby thrown back at least a generation earlier than the accepted date of 1067), among the witnesses one Saracinus signs rather high up the list: G. Morin, *Liber Comicus sive Lectionarius Missae* (Maredsous, 1893), pp. ii sq. So far documents. Firdusi, A.D. 940–1020. It is hazardous to point out that Firdusi, who was born at Tus and flourished at the court of Mahmud of Ghazni, except when he visited the Caliph of Bagdad, lived and sang throughout a long life along the great Khorassan Road, on which, as the present writer has tried to show elsewhere, the Moslem and Buddhist East not only could but did send things into Spain.

[2] The Romanesque MS. is associated with Roncesvalles and Dax, in those Basses Pyrenées where witchcraft was flourishing a few centuries later. We know witchcraft went on in the ninth century, for a General Council, that of Ancyra, described in denouncing it; and by the thirteenth it was recognized by the church. Cf. Margaret Murray, *The Witch-cult in Western Europe* (Oxford, 1921), *passim*.

[3] Cf. the *dénouement* of *The Wolf and the Seven Little Kids*.

VII

The codex of Silos was the last of the great Mozarabic Apocalypses. How far is all this from Valcavado, how changed the style of the limner, how altered the beauty — for beauty still is dominant—is manifest by now. Mozarabic is ended. After nearly a millenium, European has come back. Two manuscripts of the lineage of Gerona claim consideration; the one that was called Romanesque, the other that was called Gothic. Both are at Paris now.

In the binding of the former was found a document dated 1389, bearing the names of a Bishop of Dax and a Prior of Roncesvalles. Alone this might have no more significance than that a manuscript now lost was signalled at Guadalupe in the sixteenth century, but the style suggests a close relation with France. In a number of instances the miniaturist would seem to have taken stained glass as a point of departure, not merely by the addiction to roundels within the composition, as in the case of the Lamb and tetramorph before cited, but where the angel standing on the sun accosts five birds arranged within five roundels vertically, or where the Four Creatures are packed into four roundels in a sort of basement band under the apocalyptic Lord and the innumerable multitude, or where in a still more typical way two devils crawl off in the corners in which the "signatures" of furriers or statuaries were set for the windows of Chartres. On the double page of the New Jerusalem neither angel, visionary, nor Lamb is to be discerned but the general space is filled by what presents itself as a drawing for a rose window, in which the seated Christ shows a bare shoulder and outstretched arms like a tympanum figure of the twelfth century. The banding of the drapery by heavy contour lines represents the lead-lines of glass, as in the case of another powerful Romanesque Christ, and of the Woman who sits upon the Beast. Almost everywhere the drawing is heavy-weighted and clumsy to the point of caricature, unconscious or even conscious; the limping Beast, lean and avid, the brutalized cavalcade, have been already described. On a fine page of *Burgensis*, however, which depicts the besieging armies of an emperor, horsemen, footmen, and archers, full of movement and admirable in design, the features[1] bear favorable comparison with English and Continental miniature of the epoch; the Spanish realism explains what some have wrongly thought here clumsiness or ill-will, and the dramatic action brings the conception closer to the *rotulus* tradition than to the exquisite daintiness of such quatrefoils as adorn the Bible of St. Louis.

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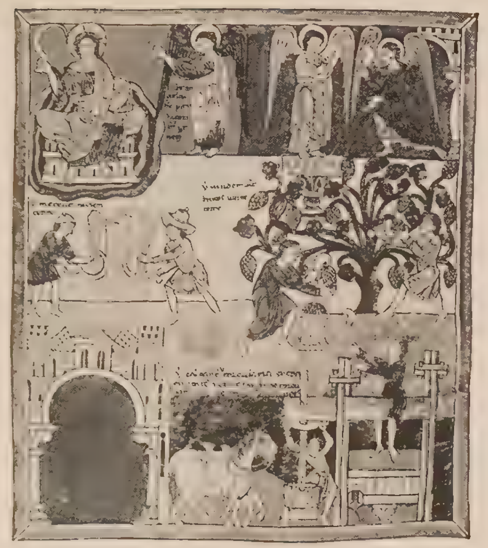
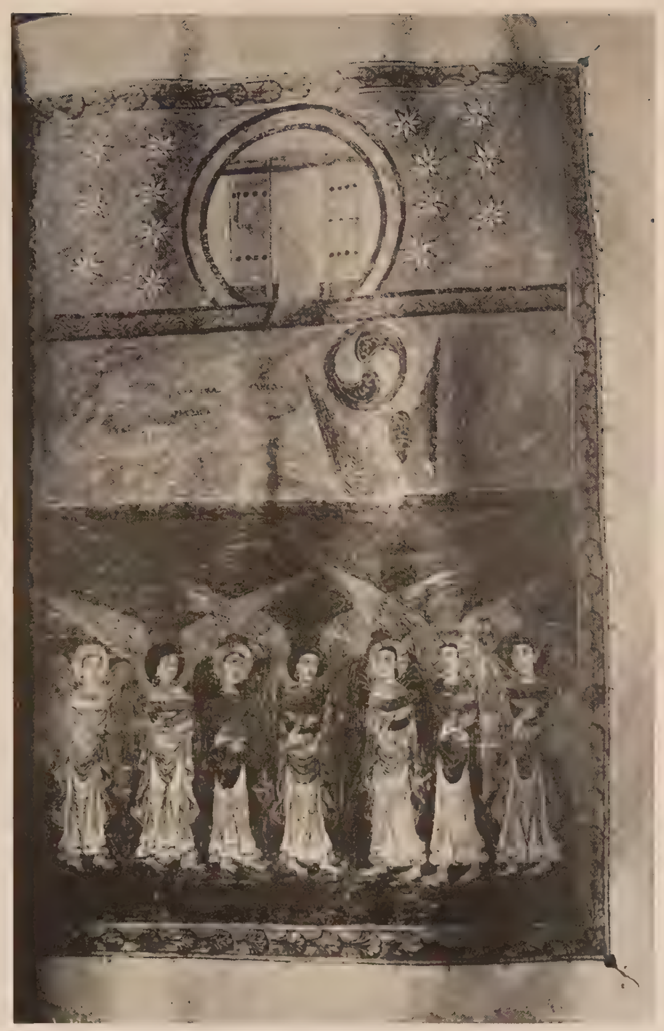
[1] Professor C. R. Morey, publishing the page, *The Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, in *The Arts*, VII (1925), p. 315, fig. 9, calls them debased antique.

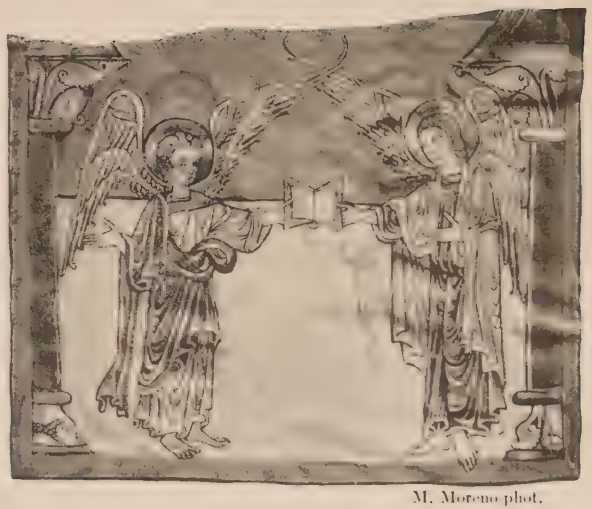


16. The Vintage (Manchester, The John Rylands Library) XII Century



Mas phot.

18. A Door opened in Heaven (Gerona) X Century



M. Moreno phot.

17. St. John and the Angel (Madrid, Museo Arqueológico) XII Century

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All the imagery in the Romanesque manuscript, however, diverges from the traditional whenever opportunity offers, doubtless often unawares, as where burning Babylon looks like an apothecary's cupboard of drug-pots.[1] The eagle is invariably heraldic; the *Mappa Mundi* preserves at one corner a member of that African race who can use the single foot for a sunshade; and quite unexpectedly, Thyatira, who is in reality the fourth of the Churches of Asia, is depicted as a figure both female and respectable, with wimple and mantle, standing between an altar and such a stone pier carved with plait-work as the stone of Cravant. And yet underlying all the clumsiness, the substitution of known and novel imagery for half-forgotten and traditional, the Beatus of Roncesvalles keeps family rights. Limoges with enamels, Poitiers with glass of the twelfth century, lie strung along the road which ran past Roncesvalles into Spain and on which as on a tidal mill-race the swift current flowed both ways. Place of origin will be hard to ascertain: what is material is that this Romanesque and the following Gothic entered Spain on the turn of the epoch, and that they present, incidentally, ineptitude and bungling indeed in one case, but in the other the unreal and dainty charm which was France's contribution, which stands out alongside the *Burgensis*, contemporary but how unlike.[2]

In fact it is not the forms but the spirit which leads one to call this art at its best, in this codex of San Andrés de Arroyo, Gothic, with its fair gardens and *vergers* in which the Lord walks among the birds that are souls, or on which the seventh angel trumpeting releases destruction, or wherein Enoch and Elias are conversing across two tall pricket candlesticks; with its sailboats and shipwrecked travellers; with its crowds at the Second Coming, or at the Triumph of the Lamb; and most of all with the folk upon the long journey to heaven or hell, as various in types and humors as the Canterbury pilgrims. The range of personages, however, is far wider than Chaucer's, including a Moor and a blackamoor, a hermit shaggy in skins, kings, bishops, abbots, women secular and religious, and a local martyr with the sword yet sticking in his throat and the rope coiled neatly about his neck. Moreover, Oriental traits intrude: the central bishop in one procession is blessing after the Eastern manner and a lady further down the line is worshipping with the uplifted and opened palms that are to be seen with the same frequency in Catalan painting as in the mosques of Constantinople. Hell-mouth, as in the Rylands manuscript, gapes literal and monstrous, being indeed design of a high order, and has room for a turning wheel of torture and a group of naked souls in flames.

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[1] Paris, N. A. Lat. 1366, fol. 135. Indeed one might compare the *botica de los Templarios* at South Kensington, which is just such an open cupboard; and one in a barber-shop, Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Pl. 10.

[2] The reason for this difference may be found in a curious bit of history. See Appendix, Note III, based on the account of San Andrés in Bishop Almaraz's essay on the convent already cited, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XXXVI (1900), 210 sqq.

The Hells of Gerona and St.-Sever and Silos, of Rylands and San Andrés, are all unlike, but only in the last is the comic intent unmistakable.

Indeed the caricature of all the devils and all the villeins of the last-named manuscript and Roncesvalles and *Burgensis*, taken in conjunction with the apparent subjection of these to French influence, denotes the appearance of a new point of view along with the feudal system. From the Arab wandering in his desert to the serf limping and stumbling in his master's train the way is long, and some of the stages are registered in these manuscripts Romanesque and Gothic.

Canonical themes here are few: the River of Life, the circular Glorification of the Lamb among the Four Creatures and the viols and the vials, the New Jerusalem with angel and St. John and *Agnus Dei*, are by no means the only ones but are the most striking, with an odd device in the last of framing the various mansions and the central pavement by a metal-work design inlaid with the precious stones required by the text. The Christ among the Candlesticks, that except in the Valcavado group — therein ranging Gerona — tends to constitute a grotesque, survives in the canon. Only Egas in Portugal found for this a new form in following a new formula, and with *naïveté* arrived at decoration. The Second Coming of San Andrés looks back to Gerona. It must be said, however, explicitly, that the whole Gothic Beatus might have been produced in a scriptorium listening to such a *Painter's Guide* as Didron unearthed at Mt. Athos, derived from that branch of the Valcavado stem which Gerona claims; here is less variance, unaware or conscious, than in the codex of Roncesvalles. The essential difference is in the temper which, for example, gives up a whole page to the double line of kings and merchants (Revelation xviii, 9 and 15) and presents them like clerestory figures from French windows, mannered, elongated, linear, over-expressive, engaging past all telling.

The patterning already divined in the Silos codex, insistent though lovely in the *Burgensis*,[1] here dominates the entire manuscript, for the backgrounds and garments alike are *semée* with stars or with little triangles of dots. One looks at the page as through falling snow. The whole is like a Christmas card by Walter Crane, being really far more like his work, always in its essence decorative, than like Burne-Jones's. And by this formula we come back, manifestly, to the original equation of Gothic-at-second hand. Almost purely European, however, are these designs, in marked contradistinction to the strong oriental strain in *Burgensis*, and in the special decorative quality they are not closely related either to the scriptorium of Cîteaux or to the school of Cardeña. Indeed if we might judge by the beauty of the semblance of

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[1] Cf., for instance, the Woman on the Beast: W. W. S. Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia, III*, in *Art Bulletin*, VIII, no. 2 (1925), fig. 21.

Toledo pictured on the *Mappa Mundi* and the significant omission of St. James therefrom, and take into account the persistent report and Morales' testimony[1] of at least one Beatus codex long kept on at Toledo, with all the Mozarabic there not only traditional but still continuous, and the new fresh tang of Gothic in the air, we must concede that the manuscript also of San Andrés should have been copied for the nuns at Toledo, presumably in the days of Ferdinand the Saint, while the cathedral was in building.

VIII

The school of Cardeña is entitled to a study apart and must wait for that.[2] There a deacon called Gómez played perhaps the same rôle as Florencio on the Arlanza at Baleránica farther west. Later on, long after the Cid had endowed the abbey and come back to be buried there at last as the eleventh century was closing, and after Alfonso VIII and his English Queen Doña Leonor had founded and dowered splendidly Las Huelgas, the old Castilian monastery of Cardeña was drawn into the circle of the fresh influence, for the so-called Bible of Burgos, which was written there, is in the new manner, like the Rylands manuscript and the *Burgensis* and that from San Andrés de Arroyo, and the ruined codex at the Museo Arqueológico. The question naturally arises, how much are the Cistercians to count for?

The situation is curious but rather simple. In 1098 the "New Monastery" was established at Cîteaux, of which Stephen Harding, a Dorsetshire Benedictine, was one of the founders; he wanted a better text of the Scriptures, consulted learned Rabbins, and in 1109 saw finished the famous painted Bible which goes by his name. In 1112 St. Bernard came and everything went quicker, the manuscripts grew steadily more beautiful, until in 1125 St. Bernard in the heat of controversy pronounced his famous denunciation of "histories" and grotesques. That leaves only about thirty years for a whole exquisite art to come into flowering and then be mowed down. The scriptorium worked on, for the new abbeys which were springing up everywhere had to have a complete set of books, authorized and identical.[3]

M. Oursel believes that the prohibition was faithfully observed; I am not so sure, knowing that Egas at Lorvão, when copying Beatus' *Commentaries*, drew from Cistercian miniatures, employed indeed a style founded on that of

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[1] "Esta libro está en la Iglesia mayor de Toledo de letra Gothica." *Viaje*, p. 95. Cf. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[2] Noting, however, that Cardeña once possessed an early copy of the Beatus. Padre Fr. Lope de Frias said of the Abbot Cyprian (c. 940), "He had the book of the Apocalypse written and other books which are now to be seen tattered in the library." F. Berganza, *Antigüedades de España* (Madrid, 1721), I, 214.

[3] St. Stephen Harding's Charter of Charity had already required an exact conformity; the Statutes of the Chapters General, codified in 1134, in Title III, under the rubric "What books it is forbidden to have unlike," had enumerated the Missal, the Epistles, the *text* (= Bible), the Book of Collects, the Gradual, the Antiphonary, the Rule, the Hymnal, the Psalter, the Lectionary, the Calendar. It is comprehensive.

Cîteaux; for it is not a question now of copying given pictures, but of inventing new illustrations. In the border of the frontispiece[1] to St. Gregory's *Morals of Job* may be seen the quaint plant-forms that Egas adapted for his vision of Enoch and Elias; in the long, slim figures of St. Jerome's *Letters*, the *Moralia*, the last volume of Stephen Harding's Bible, may be found the draperies which he adjusted to the elder style of the text that he had before him. Indeed he seems to have been neither illiterate nor unskilled; he was familiar with Romanesque miniature as well as Cistercian. His problem was: Given the text of Beatus, Romanesque to copy, and the Cistercian style as exemplified in some other work, what to do? He drew his designs by the pure lineal silhouette, then filled in the ground with color, leaving the figures reserved, like certain enamels. That he should not have known the Valcavado canon is not strange in the circumstances, and details in his style point directly to a half-French tradition, toward St.-Sever and Roncesvalles. He simplifies wherever possible and brings to mind Blake precisely because the outlines, the elongations, are concessions to material imperfection in bodying forth a new conception. With some other subject-matter, a hard-won skill would have given his hand liberty.

Lorvão was "founded" 1185, the charter being indeed dated 1183.[2] Cardinal Pitra throws light on the predicament, publishing a letter addressed by Innocent III to the Bishop and Dean of Zamora and the Abbot of Moreruela. It seems that the King of Portugal had violently evicted the monks from St. Mamed of Lorvão, in the diocese of Coimbra, and put in his daughter with some nuns, the former abbot without the consent and will of the convent turning it over to the King, which he had no right to do. The case between the deplorably ejected monks and the King is still going on (Oct. 24, 1206) and the Pope's intention is that it shall not be tried in the civil courts.[3] Meanwhile the princess-abbess, coming into occupancy of a deserted scriptorium, does the best she can with Egas.

Egas was an Arab name before it was Portuguese. The monkish painter at Lorvão is at his best when drawing on his Oriental heritage. True, the oddest things have caught his fancy: the ironmongery of horses' bits and the nails in horseshoes, the carpentry and morticing of a good chair, pricket candlesticks and a lamp-stand of seven lights, the entomology of locusts, the movement of fish swimming in a shoal, the successive poses of a horse pacing, trotting, and galloping, the aspect of a figure close-wrapped in a mantle as though he had no arms. The apocalyptic Beasts he reduced to terms of experience of the wolf kind, or else, if seven-headed, resolved into the silhouette of a fine horse seen against a sapling tree. Yet when he comes to the tetramorph, the heads of ox and lion reveal acquaintance with the ultimately Persian tradition of the canon (cf. Pl. IV). From Persia he had by way of the Western Caliphate received a palmette form (Pl. II) that is recorded in the *Hispalensis*; and used it for better and for worse whenever occasion served, for example, in the trumpeting of the Four Winds; and a few times, for the more solemnity, remembered the horseshoe arch. Of dramatic grouping he is incapable though he can bring a pair of figures into a ritual juxtaposition, or arrange a line of them interrelated by nods and becks. Yet when this is granted, and all the *naïveté* of the plain people, we must end in recognition of subtle equilibriums, of lineal beauties, in delight before the pure design, with a state of mind very different from the charity for which he prayed so gently as he ended, wearily enough[1]—*Jam liber est scriptus—Qui scripsit sit benedictus—Era MCCXXI —Egae Egas: qui hunc librum scripsi, si in aliquibus a recto tramiti exivi, deliquenti indulgeat Karitas que omnia superat — Amen.*

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[1] Oursel, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXII.

[2] Angel Manrique, *op. cit.*, III, 162. The Lisbon archives, called Torre do Tombo, received from the friars of Lorvão, along with this and some other manuscripts, a Hercolano (in two colors, red and yellow), an Ordinary (Divine Office) of the Order of Cîteaux, and St. Augustine on the Psalms, written for St. Mamed of Lorvão in the time of King Alfonso in the days of Abbot John, 1183 (D'Azevedo, *O Archivo da Torre do Tombo*, pp. 74–76).

[3] J. B. Pitra, *Analecta Novissima Spicilegii Solmesensis, altera continuatio I* (Frascati, 1885), pp. 519–520.

At the heart of Castile, within the next ten years, Las Huelgas was acquiring manuscripts from Cîteaux undoubtedly, for the dates are sure: the Papal Bull was given in 1187, the convent was occupied in 1189, and formally established as a house of Cistercians in 1199.[2] Within another twenty years it possessed the Beatus codex which Flórez used.[3] And those who know what power inhered in the Abbess of Las Huelgas, what more than manly independence of action, what authentic majesty and unbridled dominion, will not feel surprise. In 1220 the Abbess was either Doña Sancha, of the blood royal of Aragon, or Doña Costanza, a king's daughter, a queen's sister, and aunt of the young King Ferdinand who was to be called the Saint and who in the preceding November had there by the Abbess been armed a knight. Her power could be limited only by the laws of nature and the acts of God, but it cannot be invoked to account for the other manuscripts which are under consideration and which belong in the same group, for they were mostly finished in the twelfth century, and the Gothic of San Andrés has little in common with Cîteaux. In truth Cîteaux had a very characteristic style in the twelfth century, and except for the Lisbon codex, the lost one from La Espina, and perhaps some Catalan miniatures like the Vich *Morals of Gregory*, it cannot be easily discovered in Spain. The question then becomes; Is this the English style of Winchester asserting itself in Castile, as, long before, at San Millán, first in the Escorial codices and then in the Osma Beatus, was seen the Anglo-Saxon style asserting itself?

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[1] Claudio Botelou y Soldevilla, *Estudio de la Miniatura Española desde el Siglo X al XIX*, in *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XIV (1906), 25–27; Blázquez, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

[2] As the Spanish proverb says, there is a cat in there. The Cistercian suzerainty comes, according to various accounts, from twelve to twenty years after the foundation, whereas at Carracedo the King and the Abbot laid the first stone of a new church on October 16, in 1138, and the royal donations were signed in Toledo the 6th of November; note, however, that Innocent III was confirming the union of that convent with Cîteaux, he being at Anagni, in November and December of 1203 (Pitra, *op. cit.*, 496–497).

[3] Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. 210.

Historically, the suggestion is plausible. Doña Leonor, who was married to Alfonso VIII in 1169, was an English princess, the daughter of that Henry II who took a special interest in the abbey of New Minster at Winchester, so that English manuscripts might well come into Spain with the rest of her dowry. Her own relations with England seem to have remained unbroken; after the death and canonization of Thomas à Becket she was building a chapel under his advocation at Toledo cathedral [1] about as soon as William of Sens was planning the same thing at Canterbury; and the cathedral of Cuenca, in which she and the king were jointly concerned, runs a rarely English silhouette against the Spanish sky. So far so good. Now if an English influence enters into the Castilian style in these twelfth-century Beatus manuscripts, in what will it consist?

Two or three traits may be distinguished which seem to characterize the English school of the eleventh and twelfth century, and of Winchester in particular: one, the incurable childishness of the faces and in especial that of God Almighty, which already in the Osma Beatus and the Oviedo *Libro de los Testamentos* is undeniable and in Winchester is much the same; another, the dwarfish stature and proportions not of the minor personages only but in some odd way of all mortality, and this shows up well in the Gascon manuscript of St.-Sever, though Gascony was not to be English for another century; and the third is that everyone is apt to be in a hurry. All these traits stare back at one from certain pages of the fragments at the Museo Arqueológico, on which the pale tinting seems English also. The childish figures lend unusual charm to Daniel's scene by the river in a set of manuscripts, among them Albino's (as in fol. 268), and the crossed legs and turning movement of the related Apocalypse at Paris have already been specified. A plausible belief that the line-work of eleventh-century English drawing in pale tints on a white field would become, when employed in a mosaic of strong color, the lead-lines so characteristic at Osma and Oviedo, is hindered by the fact that such lines are stronger and more like the Spanish in some Cistercian passages.[2]

On the other hand, these imitative additaments are hardly noticeable, for the most part, in face of the actual paintings, which look so much more like Gerona and like Silos. In them all the background convention is breaking down, with clustered dots and even tiny crescents powdered over the field, as they are in Silos, or, as in Rylands, with a disposition toward vertical banding asserting itself, which usually emerges as frank quartering, and a heraldic use of gold, or gold and silver.

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[1] Fita, *Elogio de la Reina . . . Doña Leonor de Inglaterra*, pp. 10, 18. Santo Tomás Cantuariense, in Salamanca, 1175, is said to be a Portuguese foundation (Quadrado, *España, sus monumentos, Salamanca*, p. 92) and indeed after the death of Alfonso VII Salamanca had gone to León and Queen Leonor had no place there ever.

[2] For the plaited kilt which in the two manuscripts just cited serves so well the illuminator's end, cf. Oursel, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXII, XXVI, 1.

About the Rylands manuscript there is much to say which is impracticable till *Burgensis* shall have been published. This much, however, may be noted: that the color, from which the importance has evaporated, is often heavy and rather common-looking, but the drawing is vital, so that every fold, every *cabochon* [1] which represents a high light, has its *raison d'être.* The art is growing more Gothic in sentiment, with the harvesters in the Vintage episode or (fol. 51) where, against a field divided vertically blue and yellow, the Woman is set upon a pacing steed and moving toward a date-palm, cup uplifted, dressed in white with green tunic, ivory-white mantle, and green veil — all the color rendered like a grisaille — and here in the poetic quality the context is lost completely. She might be carrying the Grail.

Completely impressionistic technique appears — amongst others — in the Madrid fragment at the Museo Arqueológico with its pure fresh color, carmine, sky-blue, leaf-green (Fig. 17). The white draperies are shaded with red and blue and greenish-grey parallel lines, and, in certain miniatures, the enormous oval *cabochon* from pure white shades through changing hues back to the local color, thence, by parallel curved drapery-lines shaded similarly, into the deepest tones. It is much the same device as El Greco used in his *Apostolados.* Elsewhere, in the great scenes like the Locusts, Hell's Chivalry, the Hunting of the Beast, some of the animals are shaded up to white and in others the yellow fleece or fell is shaded with red up to silver [2] for the high lights.

It should have been said that all the manuscripts in this category abound in cusped arches, some of them the wide expanded cinquefoil like the triforium of Toledo, others a sort of pendulous cusping that recalls Mudéjar ornament. The horseshoe arch alternates and combines with good and with bad Romanesque round-headed windows, and in the Roncesvalles manuscript the horseshoe arch is copied but misunderstood and comes out a military loophole for archers. Except in traditional passages like Babylon, the New Jerusalem, and the Seven Churches, the architecture is rather perfunctory but in the main retains its essential veracity. Later on, the thirteenth-century Gothic manuscript betrays an essential comprehension of Romanesque church-building: depicting now (f. 132 v.) a low, broad-roofed parish church, three-aisled, in the style of Poitou, with a western tower; again (f. 100) for the

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[1] This amusing convention, which is not in the least English, may also be observed on certain pages of the Museo Arqueológico codex, the Bible of Burgos, and elsewhere.

[2] The lavish use of gold and in especial of silver in the manuscripts of this group is probably another oriental trait: we read that at a great burning of books in Bagdad, in 923, gold and silver ran out of the flaming pyre (Arnold and Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 2).

Temple the Cluniac architecture of the powerful abbeys with redoubled towers flanking the façade and a central lantern rising into view, while a trefoiled portal stands open to show the Ark of the Holy Sepulchre topped with the double-barred cross; and where Babylon burns, with enchanting ingenuity the Eastern palace forms have been modified and manipulated till they too are southern Romanesque like a castle-church.

The persistence of certain canonical representations through all mutations of the style is extraordinary: for instance, the circular composition with the Lamb at the centre and radiating out from Him the quartets of Evangelist, vial-bearer, viol-player, and prostrate worshipper; it is like the persistence of certain Virgins, the *Blacherniotissa*, the *Madonna del Popolo*, the Virgin of Rocamadour. Professor Neuss has remarked on the page with Daniel and the lions below, Habbakuk and the angel above; and in the scene of Daniel by the river we have watched, in the miniatures of the Academia de la Historia, a new canon come into being. Not only the burning of Babylon, but the River of Life with the elders in their little lodges,[1] or the Throne on a disk in the centre and the double row of elders, or the double page with argument on one side and dancing on the other — these and others recur throughout all the groups and all the centuries till the twelfth is ended. On the other hand some episodes are never the same twice: the Four Winds unleashed, the birds which are *las ánimas*, the fall of a great city where men lie dead in the ruins, or Revelation i, 7–20. If one knew the wherefore of this unstable equilibrium when often the prototype discarded seemed excellent, and this unaccountable contentment with something at times rather dull, one would know something important about religious art, not Christian only. To follow up the obvious conjecture that the persistent imagery is directly founded on great known monuments, would be to launch into archaeology, which was expressly exempted. For the same reason the diverting ingenuity with which old themes are adapted to new subjects, the Ascension to the Second Coming for instance, and the Epiphany to the Woman receiving Kings, cannot be here pursued. And furthermore, for this if for no other reason the Oriental question must be left.

But indeed down to the end the Oriental part is plain even to the meanest observer, not merely in temper, not merely in detail like the painting of trees or slim soft-bodied Moslem horsemen in turbans (Pl. V), but in the beasts with their shaggy fells or the mark of a rosette or other device upon the flank. The movement of the huge creatures is as understood, as rendered, as on Assyrian hunting slabs. A fresh wave of Eastern influence washes in at the last moment.

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[1] For the version of Maius, see W. W. S. Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia, III*, in *Art Bulletin*, VIII, no. 2 (1925), Fig. 20.

One element, however, conspicuous in these later miniatures, is in some sense a return upon the archaic — a growing pleasure in the strictly formal pattern of a row of separate standing figures. It is present in the subtle rhythms of Osma (ff. 134 and 157 v., or 136) in rows like the long file of virgins in S. Apollinare; but these figures here are neither frontal nor symmetrical. Elsewhere, we may reckon from Gerona on down and find, where the theme is identical throughout, as for instance three angels among the stars (Revelation xiv, 6–8) or the Lamb on the Mount, that the array is symmetrical and centralized, like the statues about a cathedral door. Statues were never copied from these, nor they indeed from statues; the composition is not plastic but pictorial, and the constituent units are inseparable in their tensions and symmetries, and it goes back to a wall-decoration, and is not Asiatic for its exists in space. This word *space* must be taken relatively, of course, for against the strong colors of the ground the figures are like enamel, even where their technique shows, in the draperies, impressionism. The heraldic quartering of the field, the consistent blazoning of the devices, is an Eastern factor. Indeed the very art of heraldry is said to have come from the East at the time of the Crusades. But if the eye is steeped in illusionism and the idea held steadily, on comparison of this sequence with that of Valcavado the distinction may be discerned here with certitude.

IX

Taking stock now, it appears that we have in Spain a four-hundred-year set of manuscripts absolutely dated and located, falling into earlier and later and, once begun, undergoing very few European influences, — if there were space to analyze the decoration it would alter nothing, simply confirm — but from the non-Christian East successively washed over by fresh waves recurring, as spring comes round recurrently. The share of the East has been for the most part neglected here, in some degree because it would double the length of the paper, more because it must wait till *Burgensis* is published. It will doubtless be said, not unjustly, that the part of Hamlet is left out: admitted. These are only divagations.

Conceivably the reader has recognized another omission — the subject-matter. These miniatures are illustrations. In intention they bear as directly upon the life of man, his origin and destiny, as Michelangelo's Sistine frescoes on ceiling and wall; the text which they accompany and enforce was used much like Professor Robinson's *Mind in the Making* or Mr. Osborne's *Passing of the Great Race*, or, to choose an example as literature more comparable and in spirit rising likewise into the empyrean, Professor Whitehead's little treatise on Religion. From that also might be selected a few homilies to read at a sacred hour to the white-vested neophyte.[1] As illustrator the painter solves his problem, without discarding all representation, by symbolic conventions, abstract devices like deformation and color-mosaic, and complete insistence on intense and formal color. Whether and how far he succeeds — the whole consideration of content — must be deferred to a more convenient season.

The miniatures, however, constituted the most important body of Spanish painting during nearly half a millenium. What do they prove? They represent the struggle of an art of representation, always symbolical and highly mystical, with pure pattern and color unintellectualized. So much is sure.

We have been long used to admit, under the affirmations and implications of art-historians, that the Spaniards were not colorists; so that in facing the rose-and-jade of Borassá we wrote it down for a debt to Italy; and in facing the metallic blues, the hard leaf-greens, the subdued and goodly crimsons of Gallegos, we wrote it down for a debt to Flanders; and even, with the courage of our credulities, before the blue sashes, the red hair-ribbons, and the heavy long purples constituting drapery for Velázquez we underwrote it all as the only real right palette for a respectable artist. Nay more, finding Velázquez's genius at its best in an art of pure tone, we had even the effrontery to cite tone as "color" if for the nonce we must have him a colorist, because by definition every great artist is a colorist.[2]

One other Spanish painter lived, however, between the thirteenth and the twentieth century, Domenico Theotocopuli. Born in Crete, trained in Greece where dome-frescoes like those of Mistra already anticipated all his tones and modulations of color, practising in Venice where the memory of an early school of Greek masters may still be traced in a few perishing vestiges and where he could inherit from Tintoretto enough to offset what he learned from Bassano, El Greco came to Toledo. Was it the soil, the light, the temper of the people that he recognized like one coming back to his native country and his own natural home? There he lived and died, the most Spanish of painters.

His problem was identical with that of Beatus: Given a narrative and a dogma, required to produce a state of feeling. His solution was, of course, moving color, moving form; the colors changeable like Tintoretto's, like Watteau's and Claude Monet's; the forms flexible, in that unstable equilibrium we may call baroque, heightened by all sorts of tensions within the composition. The color he further complicated by artificiality of lighting, the form he further modulated by deformations and by two or three superimposed distinguishable patterns of design — sometimes one of line, a second of chiaroscuro, a third of color, within the one picture; the intention of all these devices being unreality, an escape from representation. For the reader, to recall a canvas and not a photograph is to recognize that color, and in especial colored light, is the dominant.

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[1] Need it be said that Mr. H. G. Wells and Professor J. H. Robinson are both apocalyptic?

[2] The above account of painting is abstracted from the accepted handbooks, not of course admitted by the present writer.

Another trait, however, emerges in certain pictures so constituted that the canvas is, as said before, a plenum. This he shares with a good deal of oriental miniature painting. The Paris Crucifixion exemplifies it, and it is equally plain in a Holy Family (now in this country) seen against waste land and clouds. The group of personages is a plastic unit, without interstices, and earth and sky are welded on to this so that the unit is conterminous with the frame. There is no "air" in the picture, there is no unoccupied space, there is no crack to put a knife-blade between body and background, between cloud-edge and blue sky. This is the color-mosaic of Beatus come back again.

Its next appearance is in Arles. Take Van Gogh's portrait of an ugly little man in a straw hat against a bright blue wall, or Cézanne's wife in a striped petticoat against a patterned wall-paper; the mosaic again! The Fleming and the Frenchman are admissible here as witnesses because Spanish painting had been essential and causal in France since Edouard Manet's day. One is tempted to urge that in the case of Van Gogh the strange identity of his color-mosaic with that of Beatus is due to the same ultimate cause, is the outcome of the shock when North meets South, even as when the aftermath of Visogothic came into contact with Moslem, and Mozarabic was born.

In the color-mosaic, here, because the Academies had pumped the color out of painting and left the understanding of color in men's minds at low ebb, there becomes apparent a struggle to substitute a mosaic of mass, and Cézanne agonizes. For the great Spaniards who were Cubists, Picasso and Juan Gris, form supersedes color entirely, though the formula still stands of the plenum, of interpenetrant masses in a mosaic, and the want of color is the reason why they have so little loveliness. Only in Picasso's work the ancestral claim of color enforces itself, and gives us the "blue" period. Lastly, on the east coast, Anglada awakens to the ecstasy of pure color-pattern vaporous and jewelled, a mosaic of tinted light.

If this is true, — and logically it should be because it explains so much that is otherwise inexplicable, — then the Spanish temper by virtue of its Eastern strain demands color as a major condition, without which it suffers frustration and unfulfillment.

How then about Velázquez? A very great genius is his, with the impersonality which is one of the stigmata of frustration. Does the sensitive spectator, if in Bishop Berkeley's phrase "undebauched by reason," find in him the supreme satisfaction? Ask Dr. Meier-Graefe. Or, better, walk back from the Velázquez rooms in the Prado to those of Titian, who found a final satisfaction in his epoch, in his art, in the coincidence of his inheritance, his temper, and his opportunity. Michelangelo would serve as well for an instance since, though his disposition was not cheerful and his commissions were rarely completed, his work shows no unfulfillment.

From the sixteenth century to the nineteenth, from before Pacheco till after Goya, Spanish painting was dominated by the Italian ideal, overmastered and completely absorbed. It is a commonplace that when we speak of painting in France between Louis XII and Louis XV we must deplore the imposition of Italian taste upon French people, and recognize that the Judgment of God for the Italian Wars was the French Renaissance. Must we yield the same recognition, the same regret, for Spain? Was, after all, the Siglo de Oro a calamity?

APPENDIX

Note I. Dom Férotin says, in describing the Copenhagen manuscript of Apringius of Béja, written in the time of the Visigothic King Theudis (531–548) but preserved in a twelfth-century manuscript: "Disons aussi que beaucoup de mots sont marqués de l'accent tonique, circonstance qui n'est pas commune dans les manuscrits de ce genre." This he illustrates in a note, continuing: "Peut-être pourrait-on conclure de cette particularité que le commentaire d'Apringius était lu dans l'assemblée des fidèles. Tout au moins semble-t-il qu'on l'avait accentué dans le but d'en rendre la lecture publique (probablement la lecture liturgique) plus aisée à un lecteur peu instruit dans la langue latin." As Dom Férotin was the final authority on Mozarabic liturgies, this should be conclusive for Apringius.

About the liturgy, a brief explanation may not come amiss. In the Mozarabic Rite, as in the Gallican which Neale believed to be derived from it,[1] there were three "lessons" at Mass, one from the prophets (or the Sapiential books or occasionally from other parts of the Old Testament), one from the epistles, and one from the Gospel: but on certain days for the prophets is substituted the Apocalypse. In the Mozarabic Mixed Missal of Toledo, compiled *c.* 1500 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXXV) the three Lessons of Prophecy, Epistle, and Gospel appear likewise and from Easter to Pentecost there are no Old Testament Lessons, and the Apocalypse is substituted. Among the other occasions when the Apocalypse is read seem to be the feasts of Holy Cross, — its Invention, Triumph, and Exaltation, — Michaelmas, and All Saints' Day. In the Mozarabic Breviary (Migne, *op. cit.*, LXXXVI) the portions appointed for Eastertide are the same, excepting for Ascension Day, which has a Lesson out of Daniel equally apocalyptic; Michaelmas has also a Lesson from Daniel.[2] The Invention of the Cross has Revelation xxi of course, but for the other two feasts of Holy Cross and for All Saints' I cannot find special choir-offices in Lorenzana's Breviary. However, it is apparent that in the sixteenth century the Apocalypse was less relished than in the seventh. Dom Férotin, when he published the Mozarabic Sacramentary, omitted the Scripture text because Dom Morin had already published the *Liber Comes*, but he says (p. xix), speaking generally of the Mozarabic manuscripts, especially in the tenth and eleventh century, "at certain great feasts the Mass is so complete that you find not only all the Scripture Lessons but even the traditional sermon which followed the Gospel and which up to then they had been content to borrow from the Homilary." Elsewhere (col. 683) he speaks of the Homilaries which the Mozárabes were able to use for their reading in the day and night offices; and of the occurrence, in a Toledan

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[1] J. M. Neale and G. H. Forbes, *The Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church*, (1855), p. vii: "The Mozarabic is the original from which the compilers of the following services have borrowed."

[2] Hence copied with Beatus's Apocalypse for liturgical reading.

Lectionary, of a Life of San Millán divided into liturgical lessons, *ut possit in missae eius celebritate legi.* These passages will explain the presumed use of Apringius and Beatus. Anyone looking into the Roman Breviary of today may see these little expositions strung along after the Scripture lessons still, and understand the employment of suitable material at an appropriate moment in the Mozarabic Office which, as Dom Férotin loved to insist, was never rigid nor invariable except in the Canon of the Mass.

Note II. In speaking of the manuscript at the Academia de la Historia "English pilgrim" was said rather than "English manuscript" because only about four miniatures are good, and then, as happens with teacher and pupils, the style breaks down while the formulas persist. That special countenance, however, characteristic of the innovation, youthful and very engaging, is to reappear at the conclusion of the whole series. Such design as certain pages in Osma is another story, really much closer to the Winchester school and accountable as what Martín, if he was genius as well as sinner, might have got out of an English manuscript, adapting it to his intention. The history of New Minster in Dugdale offers a possibility of contact at three points. Members of the Community might be wandering far in the world: (1) in 963 when the secular canons of King Egbert were expelled, their place being taken by Benedictines from Abingdon under an abbot who was something of an *arriviste* and ended as Archbishop of Canterbury; (2) in the interregnum that lasted more or less from 1088 to 1100, when after the abbot had fought for Harold at Senlac with twelve monks and twenty soldiers behind him, the abbey was very evilly entreated under William I and William II. At the former epoch Valcavado was flourishing and there was little to bring outlanders into the Tierra de Campos, nor on the miniatures of Emeterius, Ende, and Senior blows any wind from Ultima Thule. At the close of the eleventh century, however, the Way of St. James was a well-travelled road; there were new conquests and new foundations with My Cid Ruy Díaz in the field; abbeys like Sahagun were setting up church and cloister and scriptorium. The news must have spread pretty widely, and the drift of unemployment included the nobler crafts. Lastly (3) in the civil wars of Stephen the abbey of Hyde (New Minster) was burned, 1141, and Bishop Henri de Blois being accused of the burning had to go to Rome to clear himself, confronted by the Abbot, Hugh of Lens, who was backed by St. Bernard himself. At the papal court were Spanish dignitaries in plenty and valuable manuscripts might easily change hands to good effect. About migration of manuscripts it is rash to dogmatize, safer either to present evidence or to show cause. Valcavado offers a good case of stability, Tábara of presumptive migration from the Esla tower to Burgos and thence to Liébana. After all, Alcuin had to come to Tours to naturalize the Anglo-Saxon style in France, and Theodulf to Fleury for the establishment of a text of Scripture. The Empress Theophana and Doña Leonor may both have been carrier pigeons, but the case sticks at a *may be.* The great collectors of manuscripts whether abbots or princes are pretty well known both before and after the Renaissance; the tale of their treasure can be checked up. Tailhan took an interest in the matter, more than half a century ago; if some one again would do a piece of work on it, we should all profit.

Note III. That the Cistercian convent of San Andrés de Arroyo was founded earlier than Las Huelgas is certain. The first Abbess, the Countess Doña Mencía, seems to have been a kinswoman of Alfonso VIII, who not only phrased his documents to express respect and affection but named her in his will as one of his four executors along with an archbishop, a bishop, and his chamberlain, with plenary powers to make alterations if needful. She was a very great lady. She founded San Andrés in 1181, and she built the church and convent that still sleep among the hills westward of the Pisuerga, in the beautiful half-Romanesque style that marks the end of the twelfth century. Lampérez believed that the same workmen labored here and at Las Huelgas. She had the power of "gibbet and axe," of life and death within the domain. But the English Queen meanwhile was founding her abbey at Burgos and intending that it should be the head of all the Cistercian nuns in Castile and León. Within two years of the expending of the Papal bull for Las Huelgas a Chapter General of the Order was called in 1186 to which Doña Mencía had to come. About all this the Cistercian Angel Manrique is discreet and regrettably vague. (See *Annales Cistercienses*, III, 200, 224, and Index.) Amador de los Ríos, in his essay for *Monumentos Arquitectónicos*, makes fairly plain the resentment and insubmission that resisted the Queen and Doña Misol, the Abbess, apparently for ten years. So Doña Mencía, who did not die till 1227, turned elsewhere for her copy of Beatus' Apocalypse, as the miniature shows. No wonder Ferdinand III saw fit to call her in 1219, "venerable and most dear to me, lady and countess Mencía"; she was not likely to be so appeased. She must have been an alarming old lady; the young king says: "é por ruego de nuestra amiga Doña Mencía, onrada condesa que siempre amamos é por sus merecimientos de lealdad facemos carta de donacion a Dios, al monasterio de Sant Andrés de Arroyo é a bos Doña Mencía condesa é abadesa."

See Enrique Almaraz, *Real Monasterio de San Andrés de Arroyo* (*Palencia*), in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XXXVI (1900), 210 sqq., and Vicente Vignau, *Documentos del Monasterio de S. Andrés de Arroyo*, *ibid.*, pp. 229 sqq.

Note IV. In the matter of Maius of S. Michael's abbey, and his pupil Emeterius, I conceive the truth to be about as follows.

E. S. Baldwin (*op. et loc. cit.*) reads the *Burgensis* copy of the Tábara colophon so as to make the master of Emeterius a pupil of Maius. I think he is wrong. If not, the interpolation of another generation would throw the date of Maius so far back as to confirm Dom Ramsay's ninth-century interpretation (*op. cit.*, p. 9) of the epilogue to the Ashburnham-Morgan manuscript. My colleague Dr. Ballou, admiring the beautiful calligraphy of the passage (with its tall *i*) is disposed to recognize ninth-century script, moreover.

There is no disputing that he there signed himself Maius on f. 233v., and before that on f. 293r. In the Tábara passage Blázquez (*op. cit.*, p. 260), and everyone else thereafter, reads Magi. Here the name occurs, both times, unfortunately, in the genitive case, and may stand for one named Magus, Magius, or even Maius, since Menéndez Pidál says clearly (*Origenes del Español* (Madrid, 1926), pp. 56, 64–65) that the old Spanish system uses *g* with the value of *y* or *j* and that *i* and *g* are very often confused, his instances showing usually a substitution of *g* for *i*. It is then more likely that Maius is the original and correct form. P. Villada, dependent of course on those, non-Spanish, who have seen the MS., sets down (*Paleográfia Española* (Madrid, 1923), p. 105), "No. 74 . . . año 894 escrito por Mayo", and for the other, "No. 109 . . . entre 968 y 70, copiado por Magius y Emeterius" (*op. cit.*, p. 118).

The substance of what Emeterius has to say is this: *O virum vere Beatum*, etc. . . . Beatus would have wanted to see the book properly finished; Maius was an honourable and preeminent painter, and when he had barely begun his work went to be forever with Christ, so they sent for me whom he had taught and I worked all summer, since for his mastery my master deserved to be thus crowned with Christ. Amen. *O turre Tabarense alta et lapidea*, etc. . . .

Maius, then, had just begun work on the Tábara Apocalypse when he died; he was probably old. Of the six pictures which have survived in the ruin of the manuscript, he manifestly painted one, the scene in Daniel, v, 5, of the Writing on the Wall, which is too close to his earlier version to be by another hand. It took two years to find someone else to complete the manuscript; Emeterius finished it in the very year that Oveco was signing that of the Abbot Sempronius at Valcavado. The difference in style (within the limits of the manner of Valcavado) is striking and instructive. Emeterius was either old himself, formed in the style that his old and honoured master had practised for forty years and more, while Oveco, open to new influences, represents a rival group in the scriptorium; or else he was rather young but devoted to the master whom he calls "simply topping" (*archipictor*), and this seems the more probable, since he was susceptible, at Castañeda, to the potency of another tradition. His next work was after five years. Certainly the version, in the Gerona Beatus, of Daniel v, 5, was painted by Emeterius; and the form of the Hand that Wrote is repeated in that manuscript at least twice more, so that the scene of the Fifth Seal (Revelation vi, 9–12) gives something secure for comparison in sorting out those that worked thereupon. Other illuminations of his are the Church of Thyatira, and the page (Revelation xix, 1–10) where the Elders adore the Throne; unquestionably, also, the House of Hades. At Castañeda Emeterius was subjected to completely new conventions of countenance and costume, and he adopted these and a new type for angels' wings; the faces grow longer and squarer, the indication of the ankle-bone (intermittent with Maius) develops daintily, and he learns to draw a bare leg with uncommon grace, and the feathering of the wings less like a buzzard's and more like an eagle's. It is easy to distinguish three hands in the miniatures, but harder to single them out. To Emeterius must be assigned, amongst others, the five scenes just enumerated; and to what seems a clumsier hand copying his new style, but may be indeed only his own experimental work, such pages as the Merchants and the Kings, the Fire and Voices, the Sun and Moon Darkened; and, lastly, there is the very beautiful art exemplified in St. John and the Angel under two trees (Pl. III, 2), the Twelve Apostles, Measuring the Temple, Christ among the Candle-sticks, and (Figs. 18 and 12) the Door opened in Heaven and the Church of Sardis. It would be impossible to say without examining the colours and other indications in the actual manuscript again, whether this is the work of the person charged with the decorative figures and initials. Nor shall we ever know whether it was the priest Senior, or the woman who was reckoned as God's assistant.

Bryn Mawr,
St. Toribio's Day, 1929

MANUSCRIPTS OF BEATUS

	CENTURY	DATE	NAME	PRESENT PLACE	INFORMATION	SIGNED
1.	X	—	Escorial (Cod. II & 5)	Escorial	from San Millán	
2.	X	926	Ashburnham–Morgan (MS. 644)	New York, Morgan Library	copied for Abbot Victor, monastery of San Miguel	Maius
(3.)	X	c. 940	Cardeña	lost	copied for Abbot Cyprian	
(4.)	X	before 959	Guimarães	lost	given by Muniadona	
5.	X	968–970	Tábara (Vitr. 14)	Madrid, Archivo Hist. Nac.	once at Liébana?	Maius and Emeterius
6.	X	—	Albino (Emil. 33)	Madrid, Acad. Hist.	Flórez used: from San Millán	
7.	X	970	Valcavado	Valladolid, Bibl. Prov. Univ.	Morales saw in León: copied for Abbot Sempronius	Juan and Oveco
8.	X	—	No. 11 (H. h. 58)	Madrid, Bibl. Nac.	first appearance, Exhibition of 1924	
9.	X	975	Gerona	Gerona, Cathedral Archives	copied for Abbot Dominic	Emeterius, Ende, and Senior
10.	X	—	Facundo's source	Madrid, Bibl. Nac.	five leaves only: bound up with Facundo	
11.	X	—	Cirueña	Silos	from Nájera	(only ornament)
12.	X	—	Nájera	Silos	three leaves only	(one small picture)
13.	XI	c. 1040	Urgel	La Seo de Urgel	Villanueva saw: Pujol dated	(no pictures)
14.	XI	1047	Facundo (B. 31)	Madrid, Bibl. Nac.	Morales saw in León	Facundo
15.	XI	1047–72	St.-Sever (Lat. 8878)	Paris, Bibl. Nat.	copied for Abbot Gregory Muntaner	Stephanus Garsea
16.	XI	1056	Osma	Burgo de Osma	copied at Carracedo?	Peter, clerk; Martin, sinner
(17.)	XI	1099	Eslonza	lost	given by Doña Urraca	
18.	XII	1073 1109	Silos (Add. 11695)	London, Brit. Mus.	copied for Abbot Fortunius	Prior Peter

19.	XII	—	Berlin (Theol. lat. fol. 561)	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	(Italian source?)	
20.	XII	—	Corsini	Rome, Corsiniana		
21.	XII	—	Turin	Turin, Bibl. Univ.-Naz.	not burned as alleged	
(22.)	XII	—	San Bartolomé,	lost	Flórez saw at Salamanca	
23.	XII	—	King's (Cod. 2. B. 3)	Madrid	from College of Cuenca, Salamanca	(no pictures)
24.	XII	—	Rylands (Lat. 8)	Manchester	sold with library of Marquis of Astorga	
25.	XII	1183	Lorvão (Cod. 1)	Lisbon, Torre do Tombo	from convent of Lorvão	Egas
(26.)	XII	—	La Espina	lost	Morales saw	
27.	XII	—	Romanesque (N. A. Lat. 1366)	Paris, Bibl. Nat.	once at Roncesvalles	
28.	XII	—	Museo Arqueológico	Madrid, Mus. Arq.	from S. Pedro de Cardeña	
29.	XIII	—	San Andrés (N. A. Lat. 2290)	Paris, Bibl. Nat.	Flórez used: copied at Toledo?	
30.	XIII	1220	*Burgensis* (Ms. 429)	New York, Morgan Library	Flórez used: from Las Huelgas	
31.	XV?	—	Aniago (Cod. I. f. 7)	Escorial		(no pictures)
32.	XVI	1552	Vatican (Vat. Lat. 7621)	Rome	nothing known	(no pictures)
*33.	—	—	Celanova	?	fragment: seen by Morales	
34.	—	—	Oviedo	perhaps Escorial	seen by Morales	
35.	—	—	Escorial	?	three were reported	
36.	—	—	Guadalupe	?	cited by Morales	
37.	—	—	Toledo	?	seen by Morales	
38.	—	—	Cardinal of Aragón	?	cited by Antonio	

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* About these six nothing more is known.

NOTE ON PLATES I TO VI

The late laureate, in the prelude to his anthology of *The Spirit of Man*, invited the reader to bathe rather than to fish in those waters, and for that reason allowed no titles nor names of authors in the text, "because they would distract the attention and lead away the thought and even overrule consideration"; so I have hoped also, in comparing characteristic details from the Beatus MSS. with other art usually Oriental, by omitting bibliography to elude pedantry and try to see the things in themselves as they really are. Pedantry is too often the working partner of prejudice. For the convenience of scholars, however, I append here the sources from which the drawings have been taken — for their convenience and as a guarantee of intellectual good faith and sobriety.

Plate I, **Oriental traits.** 1, Chinese stone Buddha, Louvre (cf. G. Migeon, *L'Art Chinois*, pl. 17). 2, S. Matthew in the Tetramorph, Beatus of the Academia de la Historia, from S. Millán. 3, Scarlet Woman, Valcavado Beatus. 4, Persian Princess, XV century, from a painting at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. 5, 6, Nahum and Micah, *Hispalensis* (cf. *Iglesias Mozárabes*, pl. 126). 7, 8, Beatus of the Escorial from S. Millán.

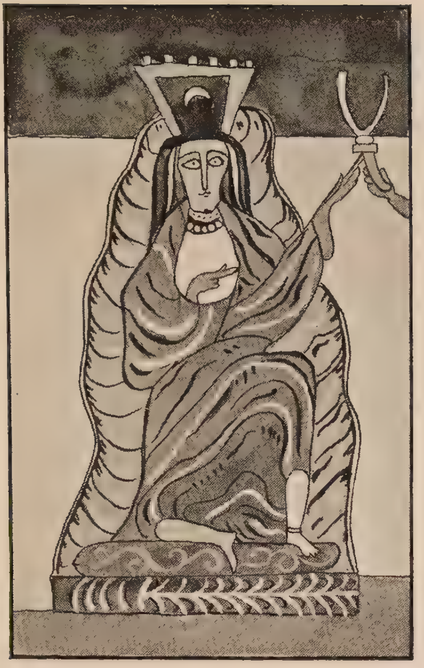
Plate II, **Profiles.** 1, *Emilianensis*, Councils Codex. 2, *Burgensis*. 3, From a MS. of Galen, Mesopotamian, mid XIII century (cf. Kuhnel, *op. cit.* pl. 3, and Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, 503). **Designs.** 4, 5, Palmettes from Lorvão Beatus and *Hispalensis*. 6, Lorvão Beatus. Border, French Cistercian (cf. Oursel, *op. cit.*, pl. 22).

Plate III, **Flora.** 1, 2, 4, Gerona Beatus. 3, 5, S. Andrés de Arroyo. 6, Rylands. 7, *Burgensis*. 8, 9, Galen MS. (cf. Diez, *op. et loc. cit.*; Kuhnel, *op. cit.*, pl. 8; Arnold, *op. cit.*), Mesopotamian, mid XIII century.

Plate IV, **Fauna.** 1, Horse, Beatus of Urgel. 2, Valcavado Beatus. 3, Marble, Louvre, Mesopotamian X–XII century (cf. Migeon, *L'Orient Musulman*, pl. 1, no. 2). 13, Terracotta, Louvre, Persian XI–XII century (cf. Migeon, *op. cit.*, other volume, pl. 10, no. 22). 5, Visigothic fibula out of a recommended manual of sorts. 7, Florencio (A.D. 945) in *Morals of Gregory*. 6, Racing Whippet, VII century (cf. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, V., pl. 37). 18, Detail from dress of Chosroes II, Tak-i-Bostan, VII century (cf., E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pl. 62). 16, Half of marble slab, Seljuk art of XII century, in Museum of Constantinople (from photograph). 17. Gerona Beatus (A.D. 975). 14, Facundo's Beatus. 15, Beatus of Burgo de Osma. 4, 11, 12, Plaque of Chosroes hunting, probably Bactrian copy (cf. Diez, *op. cit.* 432). 8, 9, Rylands. 10, *Burgensis*.

Plate V, **Locusts.** 1, Apocalypse of S. Sever. 2, Beatus of Roncesvalles. 3, S. Andrés de Arroyo. **Riders.** 4, Rhages cup, Louvre (cf. Migeon, *L'Orient Musulman*, pl. 28, no. 119). 5, Ivory box, Louvre (cf. Migeon, *op. cit.* pl. 9, no. 29), museum label says Mesopotamian, XIII century. 6, Gerona Beatus. 7, S. Andrés de Arroyo.

Plate VI, **Lovers.** The later Persian copy of the traditional theme, out of a *Shahnamah* painted by Afzal-el-Hussaini, XVII century (cf. Diez, *op. cit.* pl. 576), is from a photograph by Dr. Diez. The Silos work is not later than the first decade of the XII century. See note in text.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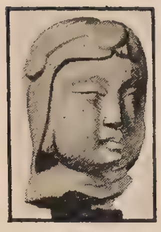
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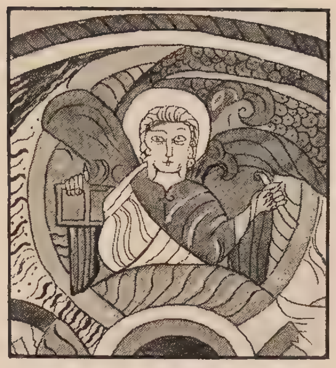
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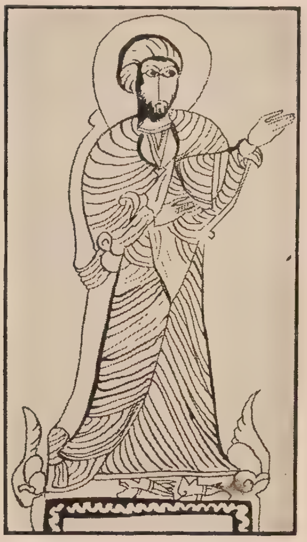
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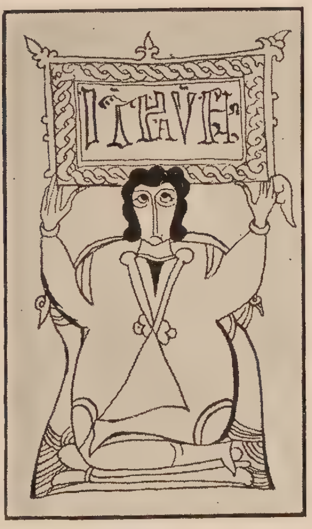
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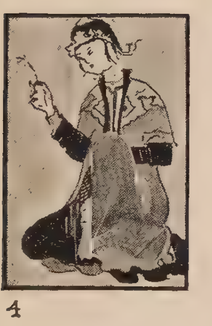
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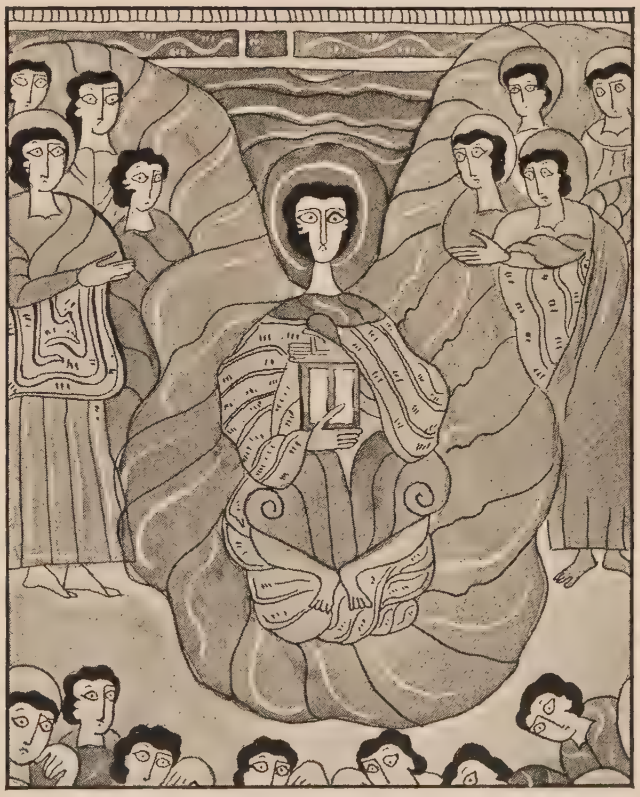
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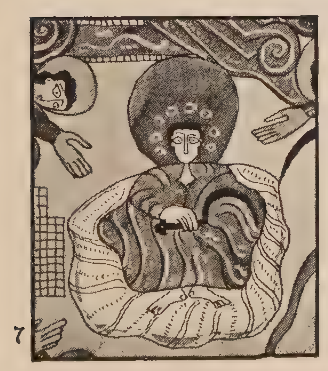
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Buddhist features: 1. Chinese 2. Beatus Xc. —— Buddhist Postures: 5. Spanish (Hispalense) IXc. 3. Beatus Xc. 4. Persian XVc. —— Arab type: 6. Spanish (Hispalense) IXc. —— Seated posture: 7. 8. Beatus IXc.

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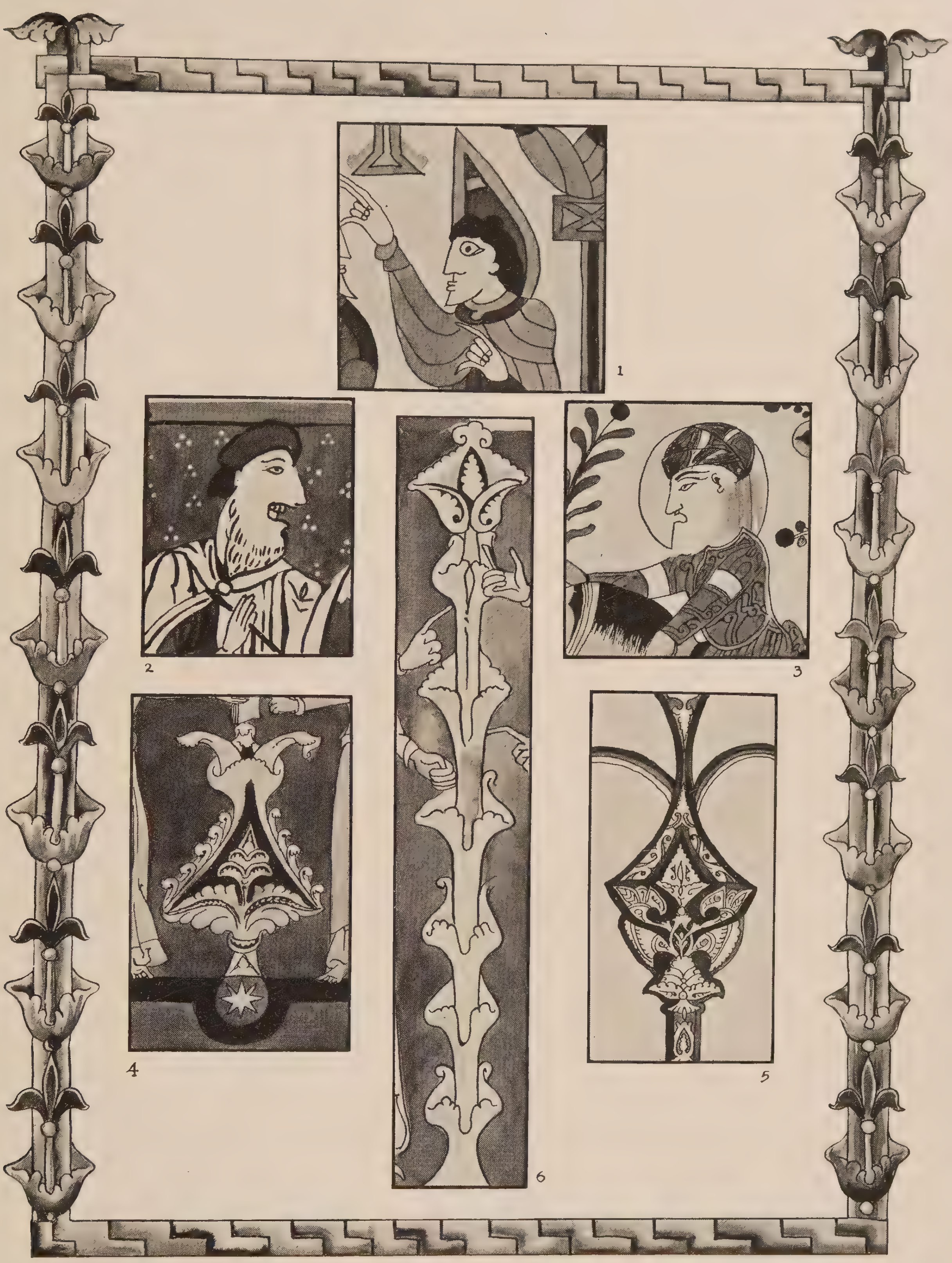
PLATE II



Border French Cistercian XIIc. — 6. Beatus (Spanish Cistercian) XIIc.— 5. Hispalense (Mozarabic) IXc. 4. Beatus (Mozarabic) XIIc. — 3. Mesopotamian XIIIc. 2. Beatus XIII c. 1. Spanish (Emilianense) Xc.

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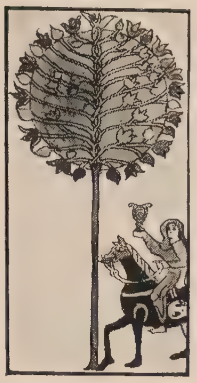
PLATE III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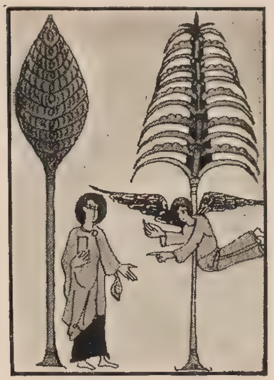
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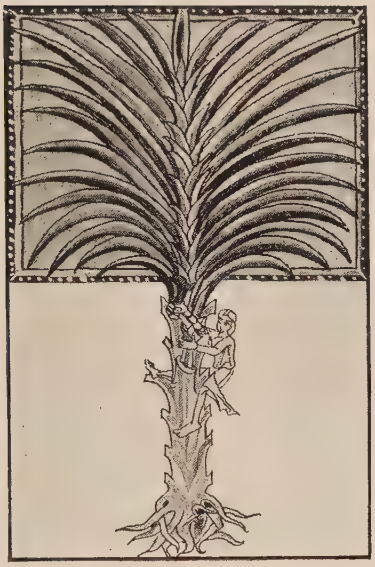
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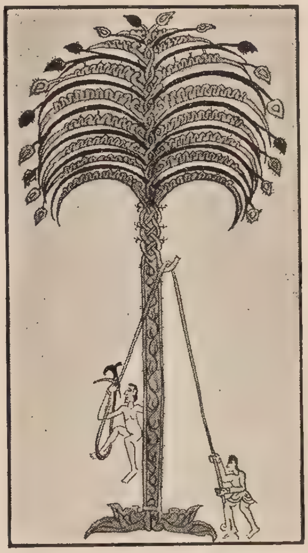
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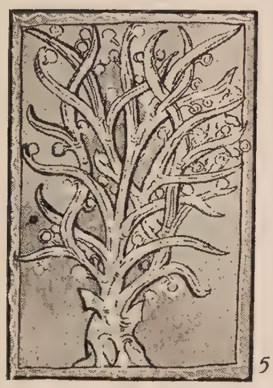
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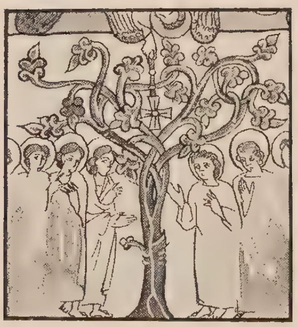
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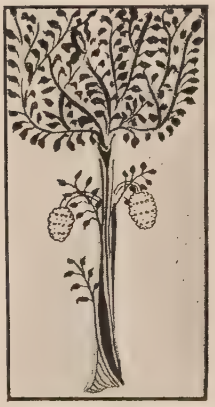
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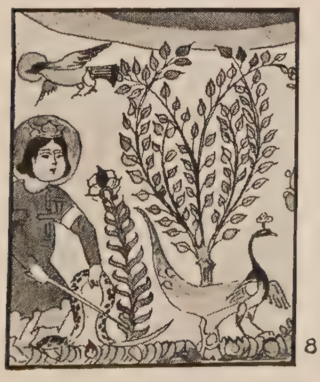
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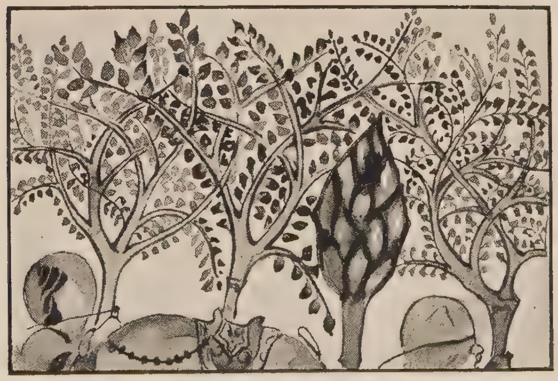
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Trees 1. 2. 4. Beatus Xc. 3. Beatus XIIIc —— 8. 9. Mesopotamian XIIIc. 5. 7. Beatus XIIIc. 6. Beatus XIIc.

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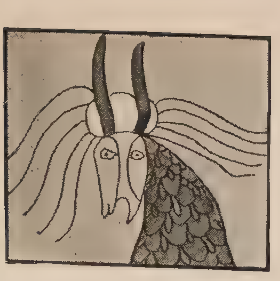
PLATE IV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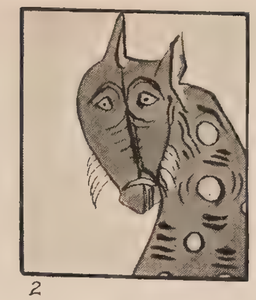
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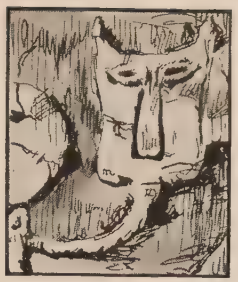
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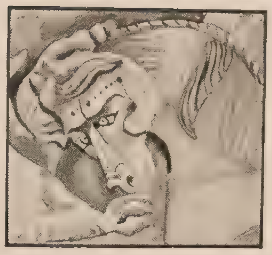
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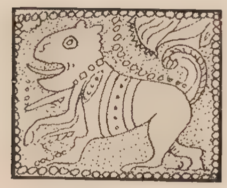
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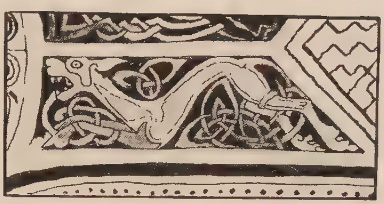
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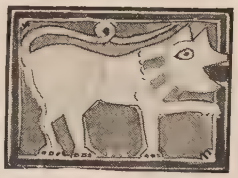
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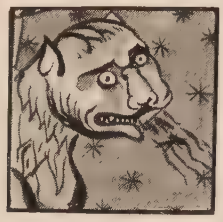
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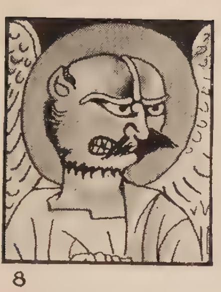
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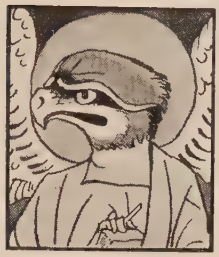
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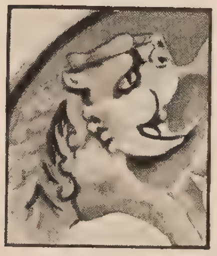
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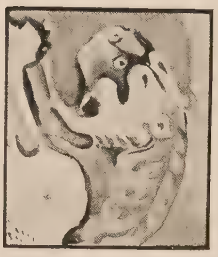
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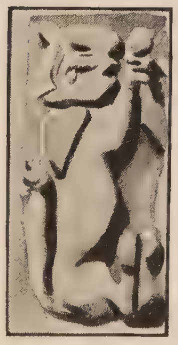
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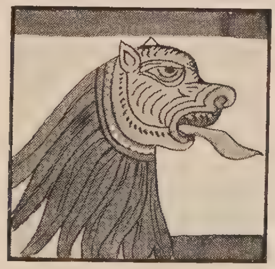
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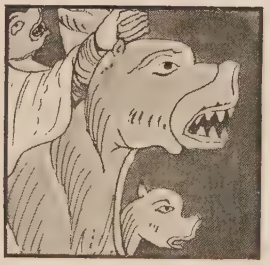
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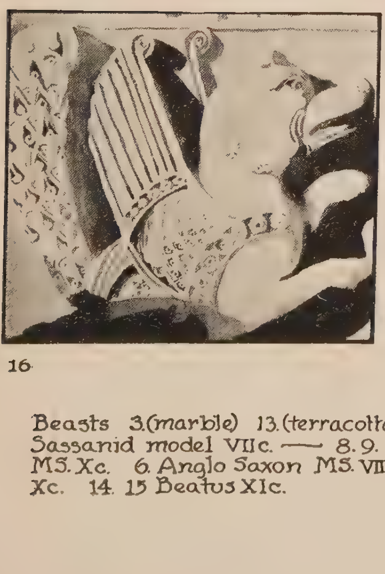
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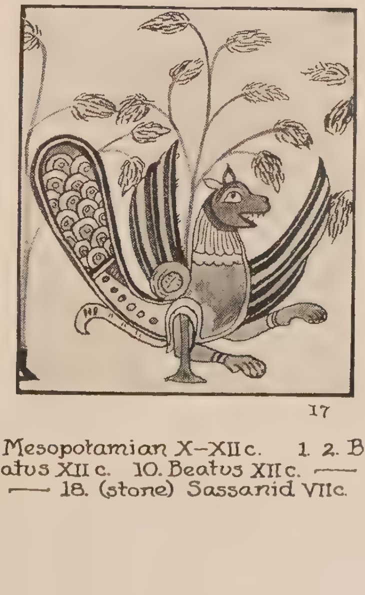
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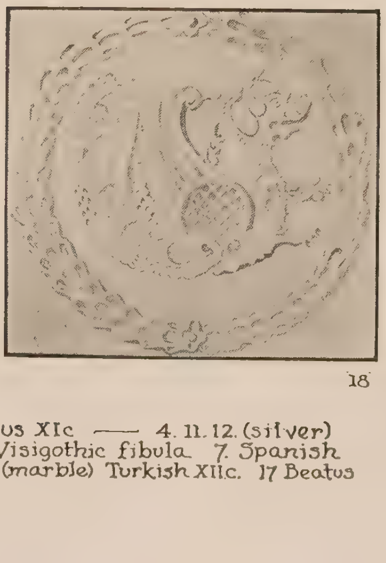
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Beasts 3.(marble) 13.(terracotta) Mesopotamian X–XIIc. 1. 2. Beatus XIc —— 4. 11. 12. (silver) Sassanid model VIIc. —— 8. 9. Beatus XIIc. 10. Beatus XIIc. —— 5. Visigothic fibula 7. Spanish MS. Xc. 6. Anglo Saxon MS. VIIIc —— 18. (stone) Sassanid VIIc. 16. (marble) Turkish XIIc. 17 Beatus Xc. 14. 15 Beatus XIc.

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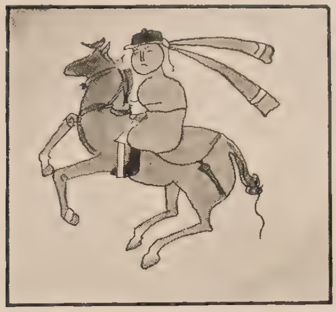

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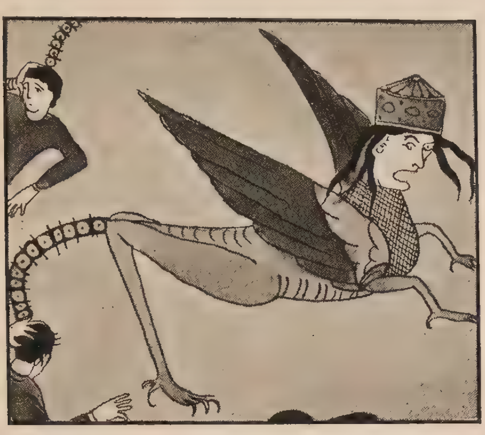

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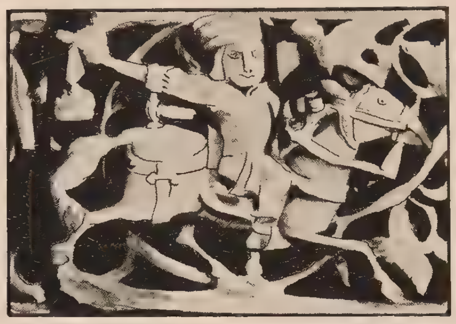

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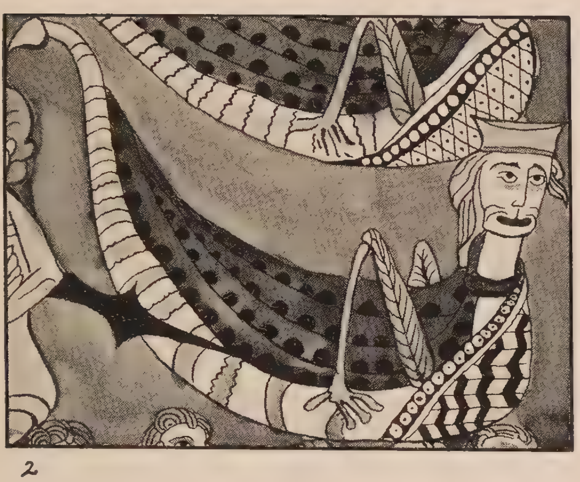

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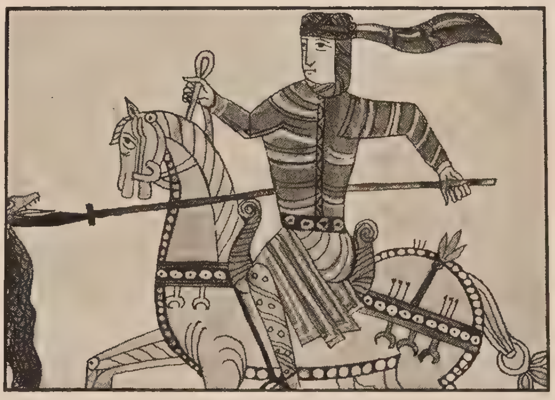

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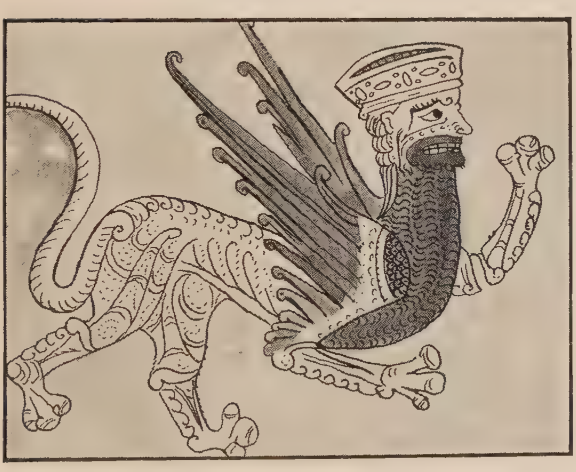

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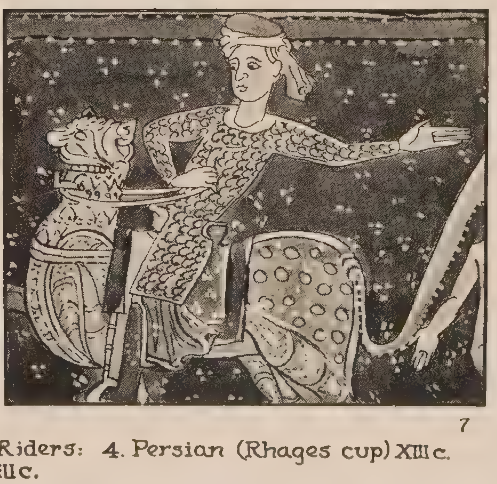

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Locusts: Beatus 1. XIc. 2. XII–XIII c. 3. XIII c. —— Riders: 4. Persian (Rhages cup) XIII c.
5. Arab (ivory box) Xc. 6. Beatus Xc. 7. Beatus XIII c.

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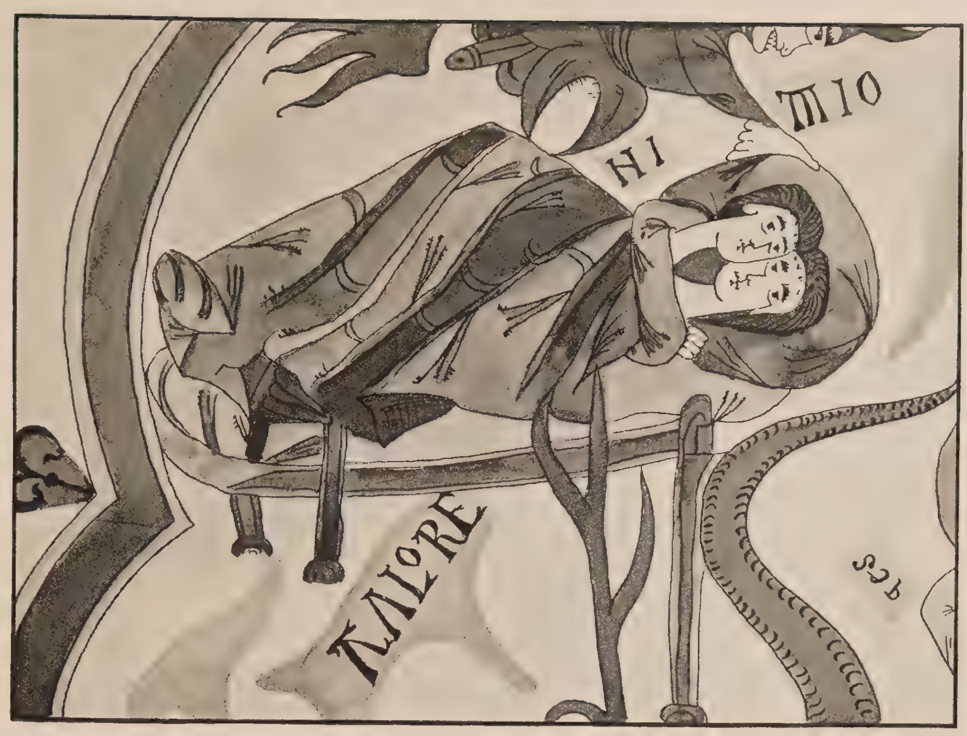
PLATE VI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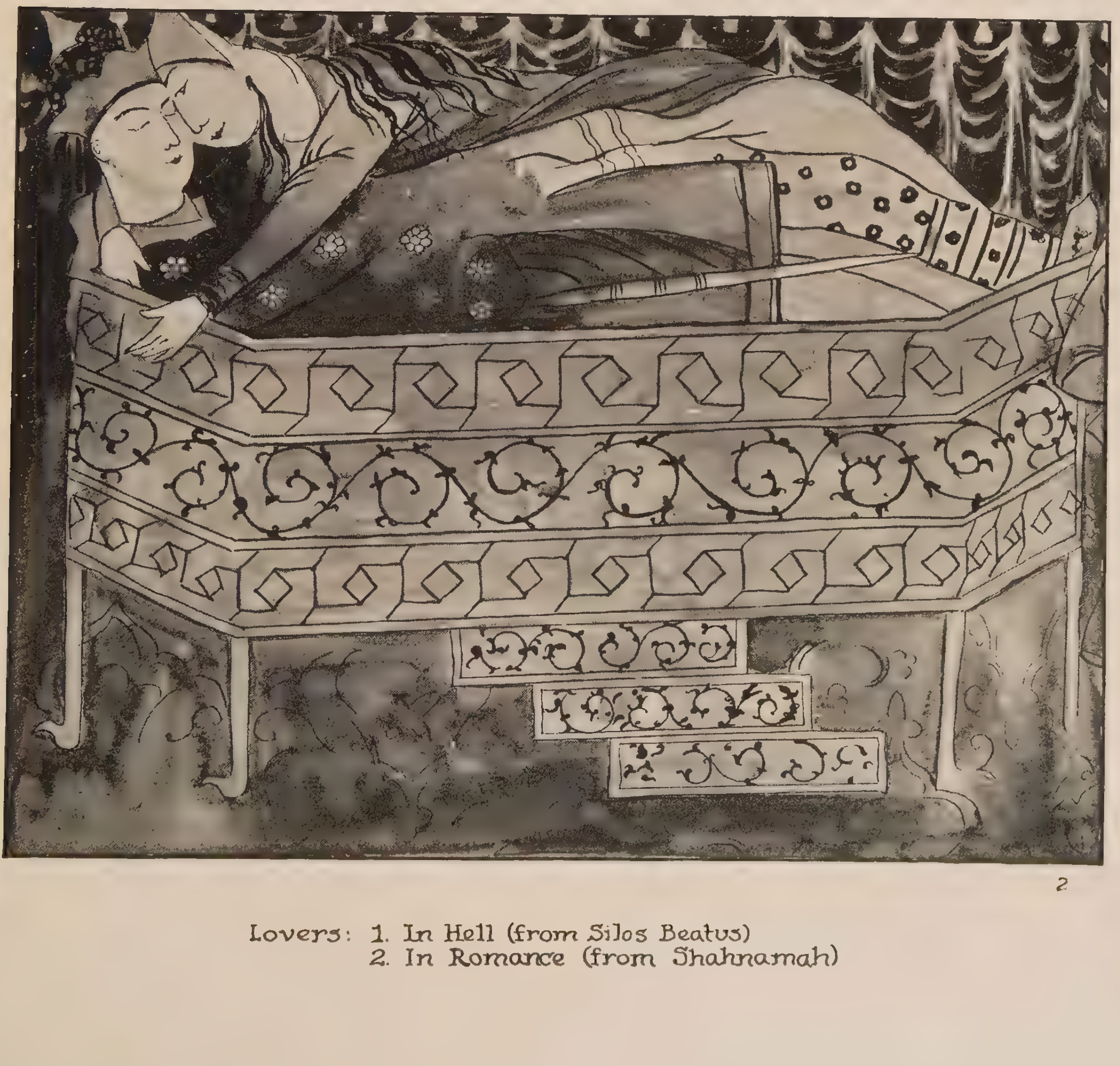

2

Lovers: 1. In Hell (from Silos Beatus)
2. In Romance (from Shahnamah)

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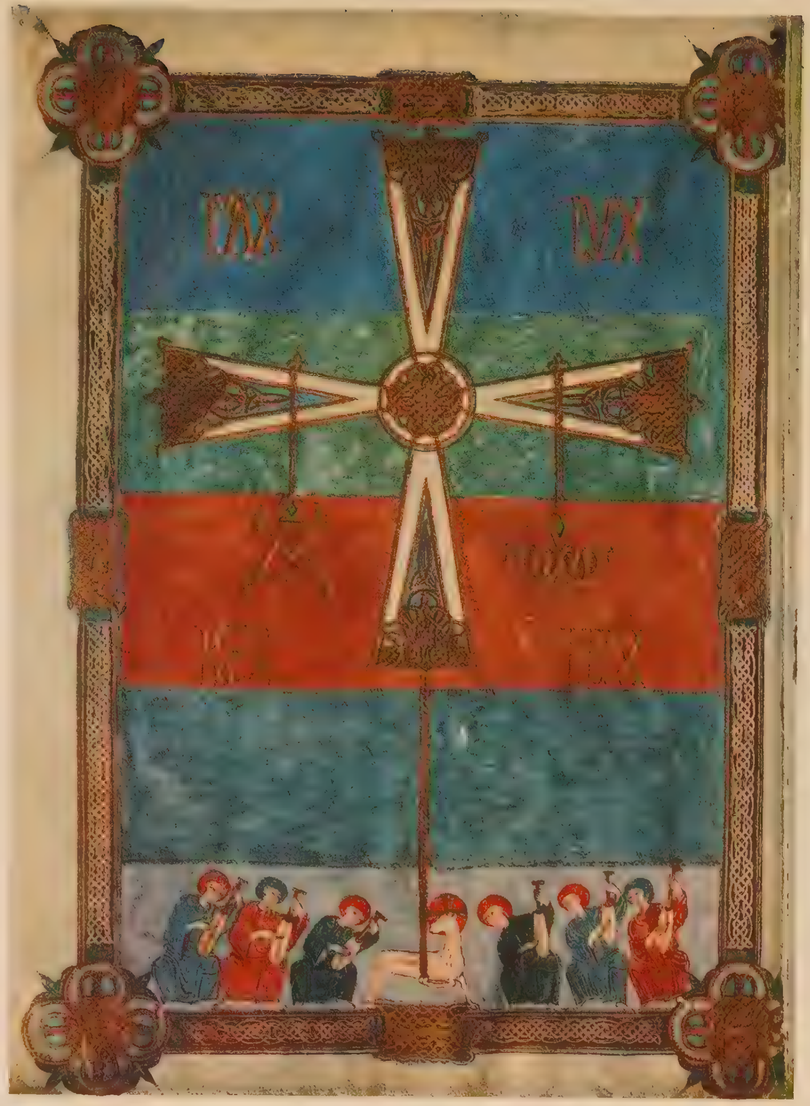
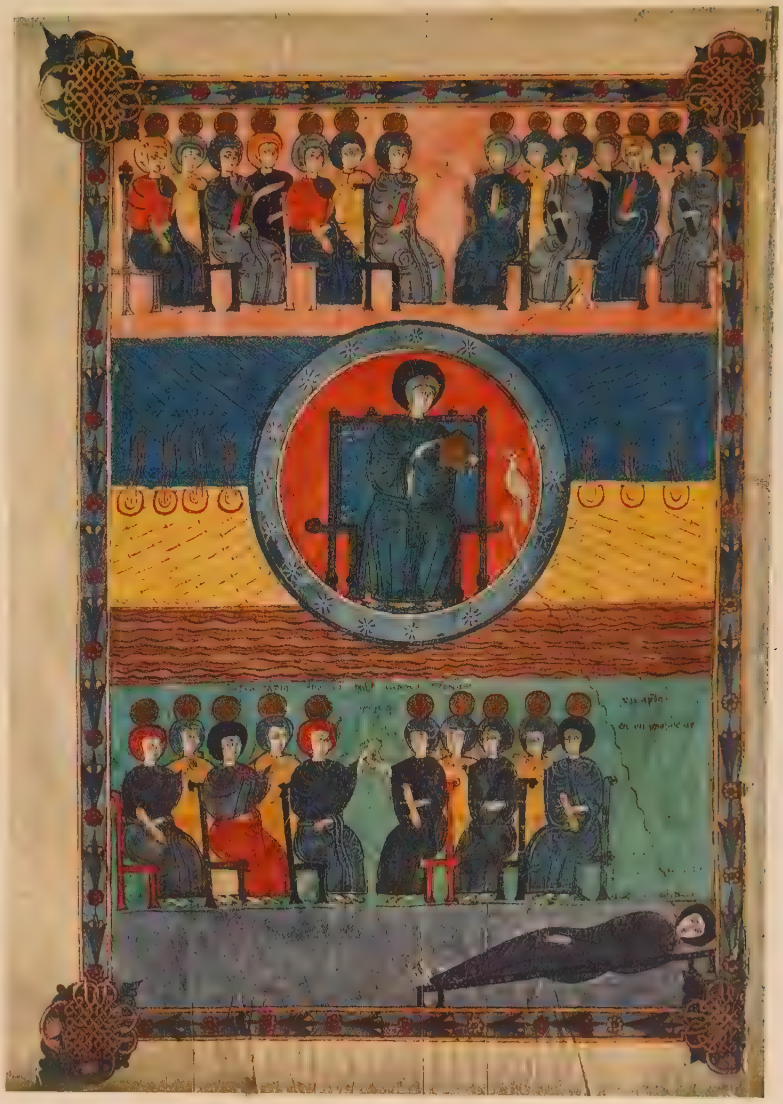
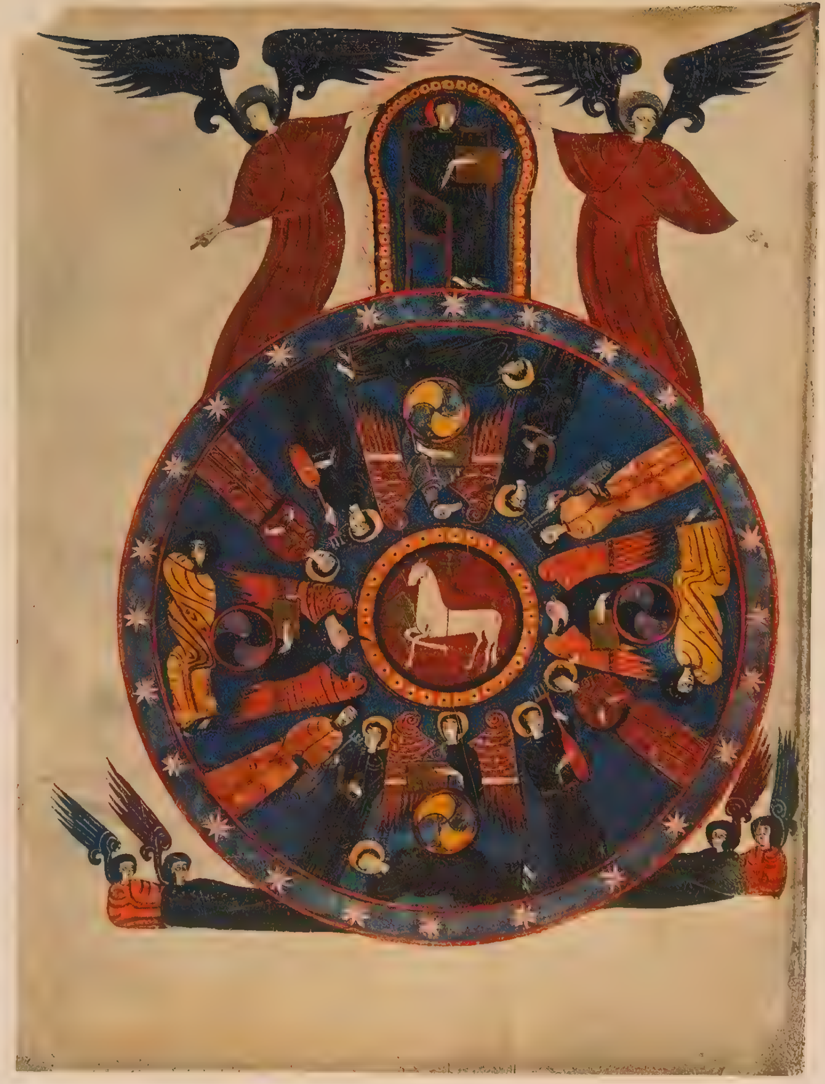


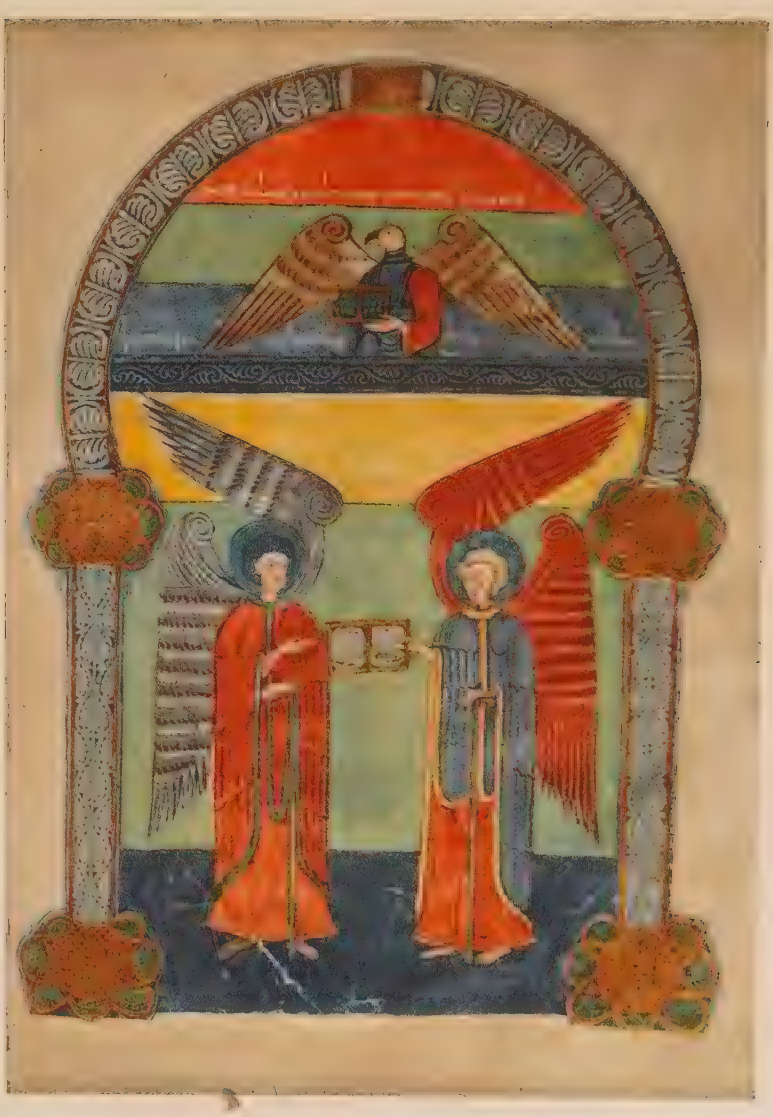
1. Facundo: The Triumph of the Cross (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional) XI Century



4. Facundo: The Four and Twenty Elders (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional) XI Century



6. Facundo: The Glorification of the Lamb (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional) XI Century



2. Facundo: The Gospel of St. John (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional) XI Century

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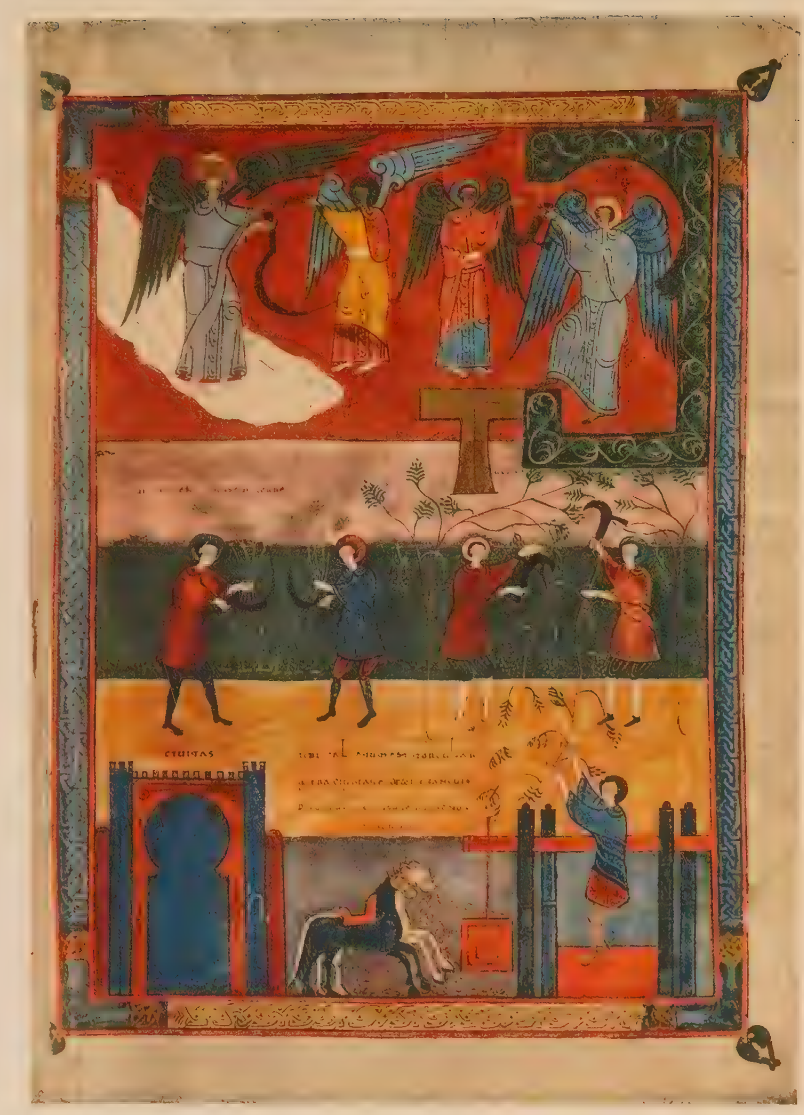
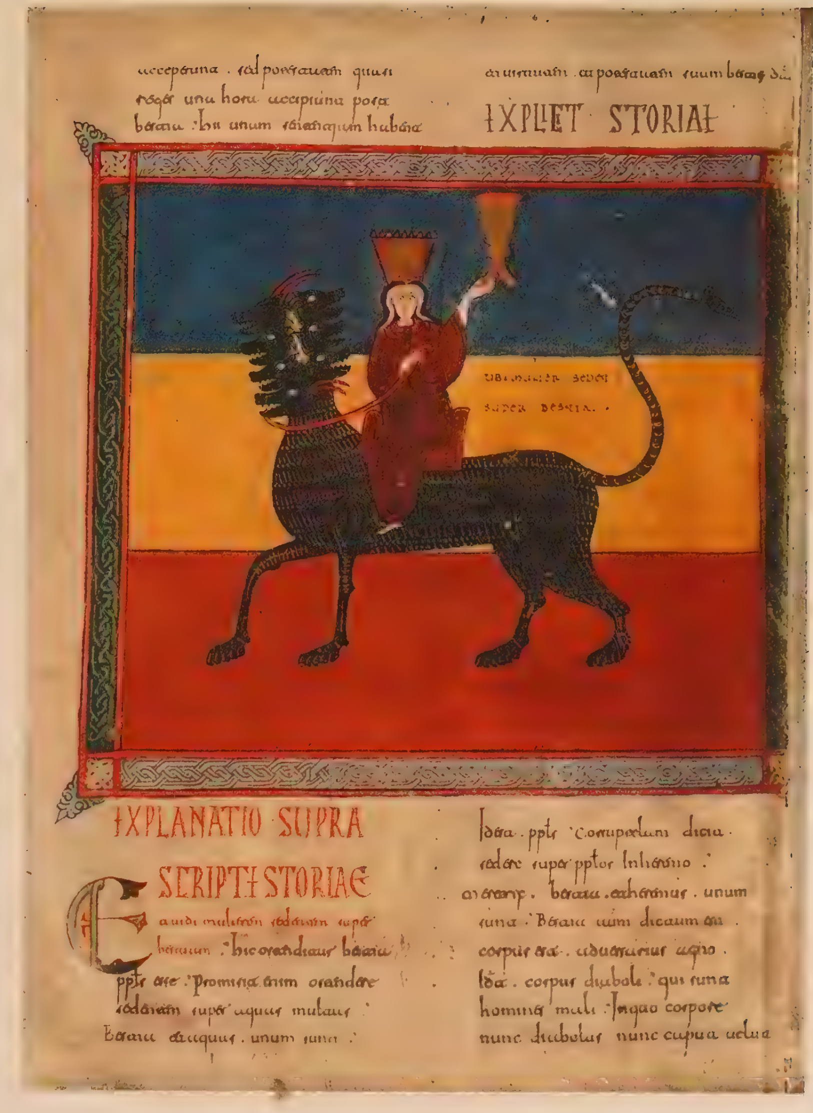


5. Facundo: The Vintage (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional) XI Century


EXPLICIT STORIAE
EXPLANATIO SUPRA
SCRIPTE STORIAE

13. Facundo: The Woman on the Beast (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional) XI Century

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EL GRECO'S ITALIAN PERIOD

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EL GRECO'S ITALIAN PERIOD

By ELLIS K. WATERHOUSE

INTRODUCTORY

THE following pages are only the prelude to a larger work, covering the whole of Greco's life, which, half-completed to-day, I hope some time to have brought up to that point of scholarship which might make publication at least permissible.[1] The later phases of El Greco's activity are not in such drastic need of purgation that they cannot wait. Dr. Mayer's sumptuously produced volume — to which every student of Greco must be grateful — errs only in copious inaccuracy of detail and an overgenerous attribution of the shop products to the master's own hand, defects which accurate research and a sense of quality should enable the student to remedy at no great intellectual expense. It should, however, be remembered that Greco — in his later years — had a studio whose abundant activities can be rivalled only by those of Giovanni Bellini and Rubens. Greco's chronology is at present too uncertain to justify a dogmatic statement, so that it is perhaps enough to say that Dr. Mayer's chronology is incomprehensible.

Far otherwise is it with Greco's Italian period. This has recently been dealt with by Mr. Willumsen (*La Jeunesse du Peintre El Greco*, Paris, 1926, 2 vols.) in a book marred by the unwarrantable character of the hypotheses it contains. These two volumes contain a mine of valuable information, from which the careful reader will see that I have drawn much, but their usefulness has been seriously impaired by their author allowing his imagination to override his historic sense. It is not too much to say that I feel compelled to disagree with almost every new assumption which Mr. Willumsen makes, and the following study of Greco's Italian period — imperfect as it is on certain points such as the dating of the earliest versions of the *Espolio* — is perhaps excusable because something of this kind is really needed.

The man called, alike by his contemporaries and by posterity, "El Greco" was born in 1541[2] in the island of Crete, a fact he often records with pride by adding "Κρῆς" (Cretan) to his real signature — Domenikos Theotokopoulos[1] — on his pictures. Of the origin of his family we know nothing whatever. Speculation has run the whole gamut of futility from the idea of autochthonous Athenian descent to the ingenuous suggestion of national pride that he was of the stock of those Cordoban Christians expelled by Alhaquem I, eight thousand of whom, in 821, invaded Crete and founded there a miniature kingdom! His parents can hardly have been poor, as El Greco shows every sign of having had an expensive education, and we may suppose that a youthful bent for painting was probably fostered by such resources as the monasteries of the island offered.

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[1] Among the many to whom my thanks are due for help, both spiritual and otherwise, my prime gratitude is to the Commonwealth Fund, whose Fellowship gave me the leisure and the means to pursue these studies, and to my friends and colleagues at Princeton who made their pursuit a pleasure. Professor Mather has helped me to see and to discover much; Mr. Blumenthal, Miss Frick, Mrs. Sterner, Marquis Spinola, and Messrs. Agnew, Ehrich, and Knoedler have provided me with photographs and access to pictures under their care, and to them acknowledgment is given in its place; last, but not least, my profoundest thanks are rendered to my friend Jere Abbott — *ipse peritissimus rerum Graecarum indagator* — for his Socratic patience in listening.

[2] The date has lately been established by Sr. F. de B. San Román in vol. III of the *Archivo español de Arte y Arqueologia* (1927), Doc. xviii, pp. 33 ff. In documents dated respectively 31. Oct. 1606 and 4. Nov. 1606, we find, im-

In the sixteenth century Crete and Corfù were the great centres of Byzantine tradition outside of Mt. Athos. Theophanes the Cretan and Michael Damaskinos of Corfù were perhaps the most important orthodox artists of their day; and Damaskinos, visiting Venice and travelling all over Italy, brought back to his native island a style modified by a sense for landscape and a certain consciousness of the third dimension, while the Cretan artists Andreas Pavias of Candia and Tsauphournari seem to have worked chiefly in Venice itself. It is thus fair to say that the latter half of the sixteenth century was the time in which the Eastern and the Western styles of painting became sufficiently aware of one another to exert a reciprocal influence, and that their principal meeting-ground was Venice.[2] We have many pictures which display the unhappy results of a Byzantine painter aping the forms of the high Renaissance, and Tintoretto owes some of the most personal of the qualities of his style to the superficial assimilation of Byzantine models.

It is thus of small moment whether Greco remained long in Crete before going to Venice, or whether Venice was his home in early childhood. What is certain is that he was trained in the Byzantine style of icon-painting with its emphasis on miniature scale before he turned to the more grandiloquent possibilities of the Venetian manner; and this training would be the same whether he acquired it among the Greek painters of Venice or at the hands of their

mediately preceding Greco's signature, "esto dixo ser verdad y lo firmo de su nombre y dixo ser de hedad de sesenta y cinco años." It is usually stated that Greco was born in the city of Candia, but for this there is no adequate evidence. An unsigned document declaring his status before the Tribunal of the Inquisition (Cossío, p. 17, n. 2) calls him "natural de la ciudad de Candia," but "Candia" in Spain and Italy (cf. the "candiotto" of Clovio's letter) meant nothing more than the island of Crete and it is reasonable to see in the phrase "natural de la ciudad de Candia" merely a notary's expansion of Greco's reply that he was Candiota. The archives of the Duke of Candia, preserved at Venice, give the records of births and deaths in the city between 1540 and 1570 and contain no record of the name "Theotokopoulos."

[1] Greco sometimes also signs his name "Theotokopolis" — an inaccurate form. The name "Domenikos" shows that he was probably of the Roman Church, and Mr. Willumsen's assumption that he was originally of the Greek Church and named "Kuriakos" is quite unwarranted. It would hardly be necessary to explain the meaning of "Theotokopoulos" were it not that Mr. Willumsen has already done so, and erroneously. The word is patronymic in form and probably means "scion of the house of Theotoki" — a family said to have been prominent in Corfù and the Morea; it could also mean "son of a man called 'Theotokou,' i. e., "dedicated to the Blessed Virgin."

[2] Cf. "Greek Icon Painting," by J. S. Hay and Leonard Bower; *Burl. Mag.*, July, 1927.

fellows who had remained in Crete. His earliest painting, the *View of Mt. Sinai*, betrays a very intimate acquaintance with icon-painting (and probably with Byzantine illumination of manuscripts), modified, however, by something of the broader feeling of the Italian tradition. It could only have been painted by a man trained in the Greek manner, whose simplicity of vision had been impaired by contact with an alien style.

Our first reference to El Greco is contained in a letter dated 16. Nov. 1570, written by the miniaturist Giulio Clovio to his patron, Cardinal Alexander Farnese, at Viterbo. The text of this letter may be rendered thus: [1]

> There has arrived in Rome a young Cretan, a pupil of Titian, who seems to my judgment to have a rare gift for painting: among other things he has done a portrait of himself which causes astonishment to all our painters in Rome. I should like to introduce him to the protection of your most illustrious and most Reverend Lordship, if your Lordship will contribute nothing else towards his livelihood than a room in the Palazzo Farnese for such little time as may be necessary until he finds better accommodation. Wherefore I pray and beseech your Lordship to be pleased to write to your Majordomo, Count Lodovico, that he provide him with one of the upper rooms in the Palace. You will be doing a virtuous action, worthy of your Lordship, and one for which I should be very grateful.
>
> etc. etc. DON GIULIO CLOVIO.

That Greco was "the young Cretan" mentioned in Clovio's letter seems certain when we consider that he later painted a portrait of the aged miniaturist and from the fact that several of his pictures appear among the Catalogues of the Farnese possessions. We can also infer that the Cardinal acceded to Clovio's request: an assumption corroborated by the fact that the earliest of Greco's patrons, of whom we have any record, was Fulvio Orsini, the Cardinal's librarian. Orsini was a notable patron of the arts and especially of painting, and there exists a copy of the inventory he made of the pictures in his possession, together with the values at which he appraised them.[2] The entries of interest are these:

No. 39. Quadro corniciato di noce con un paese del monte Sinai, di mano d'un Grego scolare de Titiano. 10 (escudos).

No. 43. Quadro corniciato di noce intagliato col ritratto di don Giulio miniatore di mano del soprado Greco. 20.

No. 44. Quadretto corniciato di noce con oro col ritratto di un giovine di berretta rossa di mano del medo. 5.

No. 45. Quattro tondi di rame, col ritratto del cardinal Farnese, S. Angelo, Bessarione cardinal et Papa Marcello, di mano del medo. 10.

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[1] Cf. Ronchini, *Atti e Memorie delle R. R. Deputazione di Storia patria per le provincie modenensi e parmensi*, vol. III (1865), Letter 9.

[2] The Inventory was published by P. de Nolhac in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1884. The entries which concern Greco are on p. 433. The first to identify Greco as the artist mentioned was Mayer in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N. F., vol. XXXII, (1921), pp. 118 ff.

The most valuable of these can safely be identified with El Greco's signed portrait of Clovio at Naples, so that there can be no doubt that he is the "Grego scolare de Titiano." Orsini, by his will (1600), bequeathed his paintings to Odoardo Farnese, Cardinal Alexander's heir, and the Farnese possessions, with sundry accretions and diminutions, migrated from Rome to Parma and from Parma to Naples. Other works of Greco also belonged to the Farnese family, making it probable that the Cardinal himself contributed somewhat more to the painter's livelihood than one of the upper rooms in the palace.

There are two other records referring to Greco before his arrival in Toledo in 1577. Neither of these can command very much authority, but, for what they are worth, they are given below:

The first is a letter,[1] the original text of which remains unpublished, in the archives of the Municipal Library at Spalato. It is said to be written in "old Croatian" (Clovio was by birth a Croat) and bears neither date nor any manner of superscription, but is one of several of Clovio's letters preserved in the same institution. It reads:

> Yesterday I visited Greco, thinking to take a walk with him thro' the city. It was a most lovely day, with the spring sunshine at its best, and would have given pleasure to anybody. The whole city was festive. When I went into his studio I was astonished: the shades were pulled so completely over the windows that you could hardly distinguish the objects in the room. Greco was seated in a chair — neither working nor asleep. He would not go out with me as he said that the daylight blinded the light within him.

This letter, whose authenticity it is at least harmless to assume, does not tell us very much. We knew already of Clovio's friendship with El Greco and we gather from this letter that his correspondent must have been familiar with Greco's temperament. Perhaps it was he who introduced the one to the other. The tone of the letter, however, excites suspicion of its ancient date.

Our final record of Greco's stay in Rome comes from a later source. Giulio Cesare Mancini, writing not more than five years after Greco's death, has left a MS., preserved in the Vatican Library,[2] which contains, among other things, brief anecdotic lives of painters active in Italy from the thirteenth century to the author's own time. Among these is an account of El Greco, whose real name, so strange did it seem, had already been forgotten (Orsini too had forgotten it), and also an account of the life of Lattanzio Bonastri, who seems to have worked with Greco in Rome.

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[1] Published, in a German translation only, by H. Kehrer in *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, vol. XXXIV (1922/23), pp. 784–785.

[2] Published by Roberto Longhi in *L'Arte*, vol. XVII (1914), pp. 301 ff. Willumsen (vol. I, pp. 4–5) gives an account of the MS. which he numbers Codex Barberini lat. 4315. Longhi gives the number as Marciana MSS Ital. 5571! — which perhaps means that there is a copy of this MS at Venice.

Mancini's tale reads thus:

> Concerning . . . usually called Il Greco.
>
> Under the Papacy of Pius V of holy memory . . . came to Rome and was sufficiently reputed to earn the title of "il Greco " by which he was usually known. Having studied at Venice, in particular the paintings of Titian, he had arrived at considerable success in the profession and in the Titianesque manner. He came from Venice to Rome at a time when painters were few and such as there were lacked the decisiveness and spontaneity of his style; and he developed a high conceit of himself as the result of giving great satisfaction in executing some private commissions. One of these can be seen today in the hands of the lawyer Lancilotti, where it has been mistaken by some for a Titian. Consequently, when the occasion arose for overpainting certain figures in Michelangelo's "Last Judgment," which Pius V considered insufficiently decent for their location, he burst out with the remark that, if they would demolish the whole work, he would do another, not a whit worse than Michelangelo's as a work of art, which would be both chaste and decorous in addition.
>
> All the painters and patrons of the arts resented this and it became necessary for him to retire to Spain, where, under Philip II, he produced many works of very fine quality. However, he arrived unasked, and Pelegrin da Bologna, Federico Zuccaro and several Flemings held precedence over him by their painting and by their intrigues, so that he left the court and retired to . . . where he died a very old man, almost unheard of in the world of art. In his prime, however, he ranked among the foremost painters of his generation.

The end of Mancini's story shows that some whisper of El Greco's being out of favor with the court had reached Italy, where it was locally embroidered out of all recognition, and it does not predispose us to lend an altogether credulous ear to the rest of his narrative. Very probably, however, he had a better authority for what he tells us about El Greco in Rome. A native of Siena, he may have known Lattanzio Bonastri, an unimportant painter, who died young, without ever having recovered from an early training under pupils of Sodoma, although, in the seventy's, he seems to have assisted El Greco in Rome. Here, too, Mancini is our only authority: in the same MS., giving an account of Lattanzio, he says: ". . . under the direction of that Greco, who painted in the style of Titian and later died in Spain, he made such progress that he was summoned to Siena to work for the Confraternity of S. Catherine in Fontebranda. . . ." Such a story is so unexpected that we must assume it to be true. Lattanzio's picture of "S. Catherine and the brigands" is a questionable testimonial to his master, but the executioner's assistant blowing the charcoal into flame is a direct copy of Greco's picture at Naples. Nothing else in this rhetorical composition reminds us of El Greco.

The story about Greco's behavior in Rome is not, of itself, at all improbable, when we recall the disparaging remark about Michelangelo as a painter which so shocked Pacheco when he visited the artist in his old age. One is rather tempted, however, to regard the story as an aetiological myth — the remark of his later years supplying the material for an explanation for his retirement from Rome, a retirement which his contemporaries had been unable to explain. It is interesting also to note that Orazio Lancilotti (created Cardinal in 1611) was one of the executors of Fulvio Orsini's will, and the picture mentioned as in Lancilotti possession may be one of those Orsini records in his Inventory.

Perhaps the most significant conclusion we might draw from Mancini — though I fear it is pressing a secondary source rather hard — is that El Greco may possibly have left Rome about the end of 1572. Mancini expressly states that it was Pius V who objected to the nudity of Michelangelo's figures, and that sensitive ecclesiastic died in 1572. I am satisfied that Greco revisited Venice before we find him in Toledo in 1577 and I think that a stay at Parma is probable, but it would be unwise to base any such conclusion on Mancini. His story is best consigned to the limbo of uncorroborated rumors.

Venice: before going to Rome

There can be no reason for doubting Clovio's statement that Greco had been a pupil of Titian before his arrival in Rome in 1569–70, though it has often been asserted that Tintoretto was more probably his teacher. Such a view, however, is both superficial and inept. The figures in Tintoret's compositions suggest El Greco only to those who do not distinguish decorative intention from an heroic attempt to realize the invisible, and the more subtle similarities are due to a common source. For Tintoretto, discovering, most probably from the mosaics of S. Marco, something of the secret of the decorative ordonnance of the Byzantine style, developed a simple formula of his own which comprehended the Byzantine diagonals and visual emphasis on internal arrangement. We find no traces of such a sense in Greco until maturity, when a native feeling for the significance of such things made him model his later and purely Spanish style in accord with unabbreviated and more genuinely Byzantine precepts: in his Italian period he seems to have deliberately tried to forget his Eastern training. Moreover, it is impossible to point to any reminiscences of Tintoret in Greco's later works, while Titian's compositions affect the play of his imagination right up to the end of his life (witness such compositions as the tall design for *The Agony in the Garden* and the *S. Sebastian*). I think that Greco technically learned most from Titian on his return to Venice from Rome (a visit his first Toledan manner makes it necessary to postulate), when he seems to have studied Titian's earlier works which then adorned the churches and public buildings of Venice, but the foundations of his Italian style must have been acquired in the sixty's in Titian's studio. These were very significant years for Titian, though perhaps his development then of his last, "impressionistic" phase may not have been very helpful for pupils, but it is interesting to note that the one portrait we can date in these years — that at Vienna of *Jacopo de Strada* — shows Titian experimenting with the mechanics of portrait-composition in a way he never repeats, and exhibiting an ingeniousness of mind more characteristic of Greco's own later years.

Greco presumably helped in the painting of the many shop products which found their way from Titian's atelier at this time, but the quality and degree of his participation are happily concealed from us by the extremely multiplex labor which went to their making. Work on these transcriptions of the finished products of a mature artist cannot, however, at the time, have been of more than technical value to the young painter anxious to develop a style of his own. The child cannot ape the later works of a great master; he must seek something simpler and less personal to imitate. This is what we find Greco doing as soon as he attempts to free himself from his Byzantine training.

The *View of Mt. Sinai* is the only example we have left, *pace* Mr. Willumsen, of Greco's painting in a deliberately Byzantine mood. Though it shows traces of Western influence and of a conscientious attempt to obtain a Western freedom, there is nothing even remotely Titianesque about it, and its Byzantine qualities are deliberately and not involuntarily dominant. For this reason, perhaps, it is more accomplished than the consciously Titianized efforts of the next few years. It may date as early as 1563. Immediately after this, it would seem, Greco tried to renounce utterly the style of his upbringing, seeing no way in which it could be expanded to express his increasingly grandiose conceptions — which take on at this time a humanistic color characteristically Venetian but which he later found foreign to his temperament.

Trying thus to expel nature with a pitchfork, he began by the slavish imitation of mediocre but thoroughly Western models. Engravings and woodcuts provided the archetypes for his earliest paintings, immediately followed by paintings in Titian's earlier and more imitable style. These earliest works are painted in tempera on small panels with little, nervous flicks of a well-loaded brush, revealing at once the hesitancy and ambition of a tiro. The texture is lumpy, and the high lights are put on in white dabs, giving to the whole surface an unpleasant and uneven quality, particularizing each separate block of color so that the design of the whole appears very imperfectly fused.

There is a superficial plausibility for the assertion that, at this time, Greco was influenced by Jacopo Bassano; but here again — as with the supposed indebtedness to Tintoretto — a common source seems more likely. In the middle sixty's Bassano initiated his "second manner," and, at the same time, we find Greco painting a very similar type of old man (cf. the types in Willumsen's *Nativity* and in Bassano's *Nativity* — Bassano Museum, 17, — two pictures of nearly the same date) and displaying an interest in still-life, and, in particular, animal accessories (cf. the Richmond *Purification of the*

Temple). It is admitted that Bassano's second manner must be due largely to the influence of Parmegianino's etchings, which show just the same types and had by now become widely scattered throughout the studios of North Italy. Not only Bassano, however, but, in Venice itself, Andrea Schiavone evolved for himself a similar type, both in feature and rhythm, from these etchings of Parmegianino, and it is more reasonable to suppose that Greco was influenced by these etchings and by their Venetian interpreter than that he was affected by the works of a provincial artist whose fame had as yet hardly filtered beyond his native uplands. Bassano's pictures were hardly to be met with at this time in Venice, and it is difficult to imagine how Greco could have seen them, without adopting Mr. Willumsen's unfortunate hypothesis of a long stay in the village of Bassano. It might also be pointed out that the pupil does not normally adopt his master's latest manner simultaneously with, if not a little earlier than, the master himself!

These early panels can be arranged into several groups according as they reveal an increasing independence in composition and a progressive mastery of handling. In the earliest group I would place the following pictures, dating, as the evidence will show, about 1565–68:

Pietà	J. G. Johnson Museum, Philadelphia, no. 807.
S. Francis on Mt. Alvernia	Villa Zuloaga, Zumaya.
Adoration of the Shepherds	Willumsen Collection, Copenhagen.
Purification of the Temple	Sir Herbert Cook, Doughty House, Richmond.

In these four paintings it is possible to watch the way in which the tricks of the Byzantine technique appear without premeditation in one picture, are noticed, and then are rejected in later experiments.

The *Pietà* is the earliest, and shows a young artist's first ingenuous venture into the Venetian manner. The most glorious perquisite of the Venetian school and its differentiating quality from his native ascetic tradition — he would argue — was its color, its gift of bringing a medley of many gay colors together into one magnificent and scintillating harmony. Surely all he need do was to alter his palette, and the secret of the Venetians was his? So he seems to have argued, for so he certainly acted. Ensuring a Western cast for his picture by taking the design from a contemporary engraving,[1] and assembling a collection of Venice's richest colors, he started to paint the picture as if he were an Eastern goldsmith, interested only in the juxtaposition of precious stones of many hues. A violet-blue storm-cloud, flaring to pink at the lips, parades across a peacock green heaven already almost obscured by clouds of a lurid yellow green. The Virgin is clad in the traditional crimson

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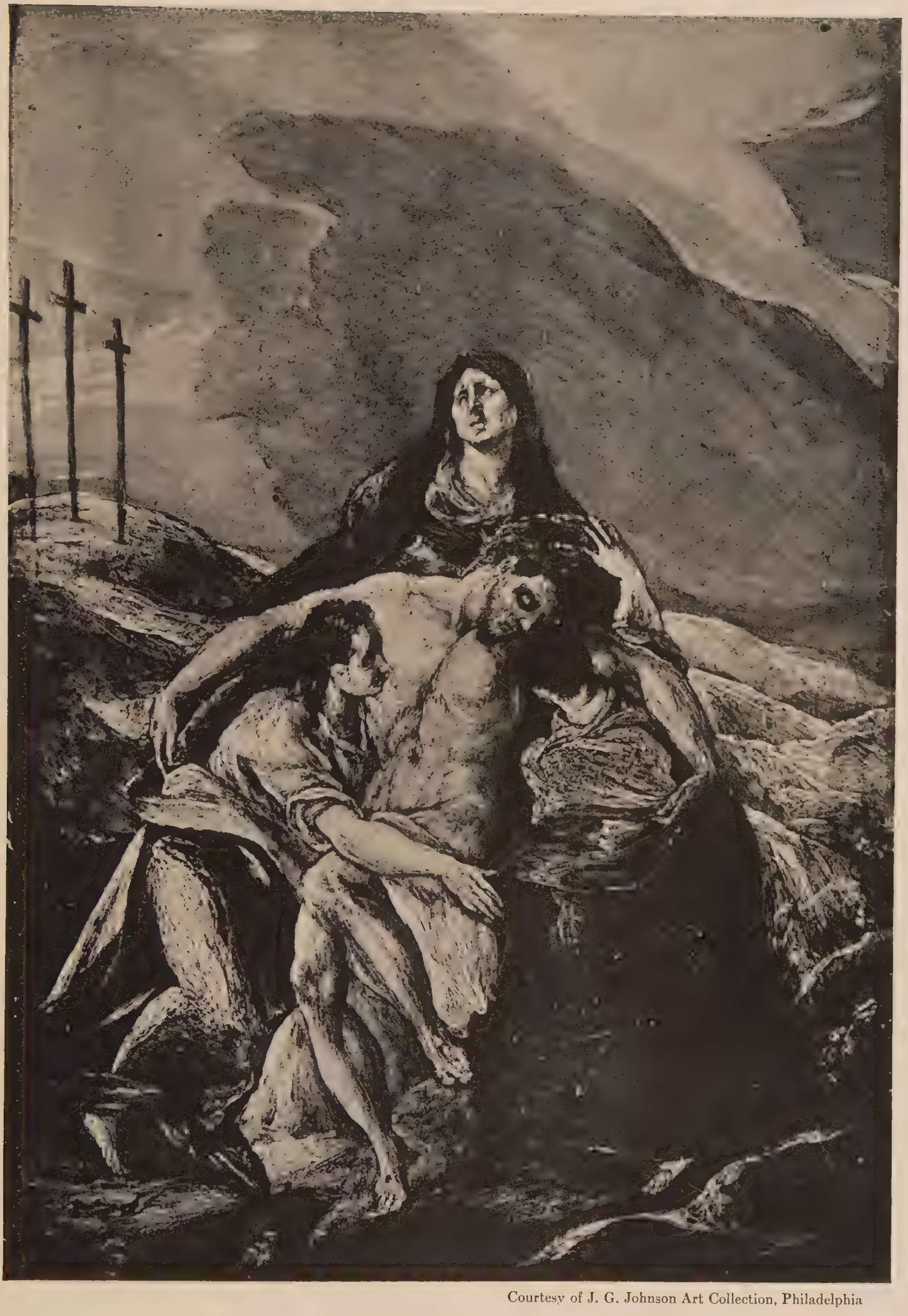
[1] I think this is sufficiently obvious although I cannot point to a particular engraving. Michelangelo's latest designs for a *Pietà* (notably the half-realized work in the Cathedral of Florence) show the Christ in a very similar position and were the prototypes for many engravings.



Courtesy of J. G. Johnson Art Collection, Philadelphia

1. Pietà (Cat. 2)

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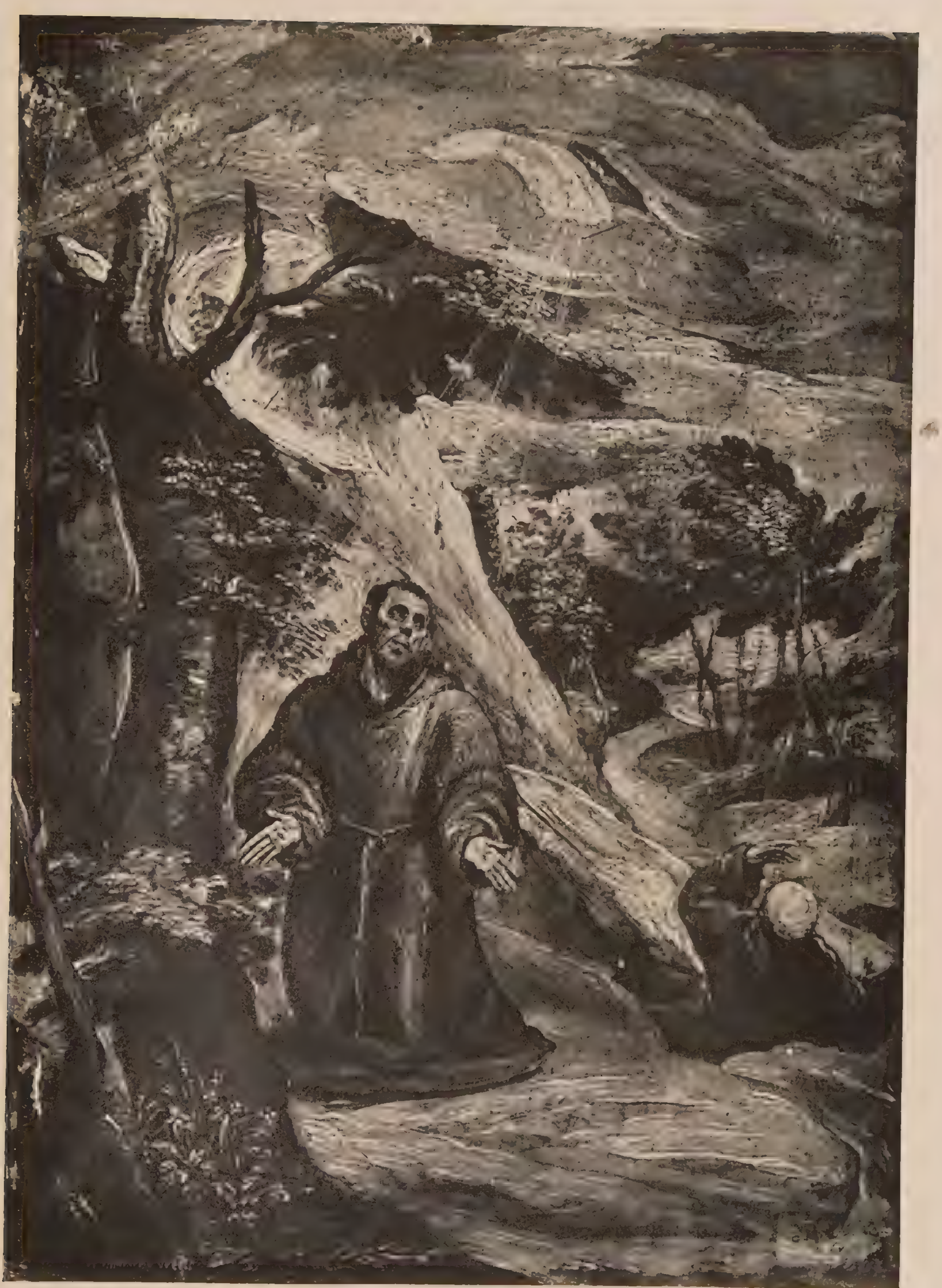

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2. S. Francis on Mt. Alvernia (Cat. 3)

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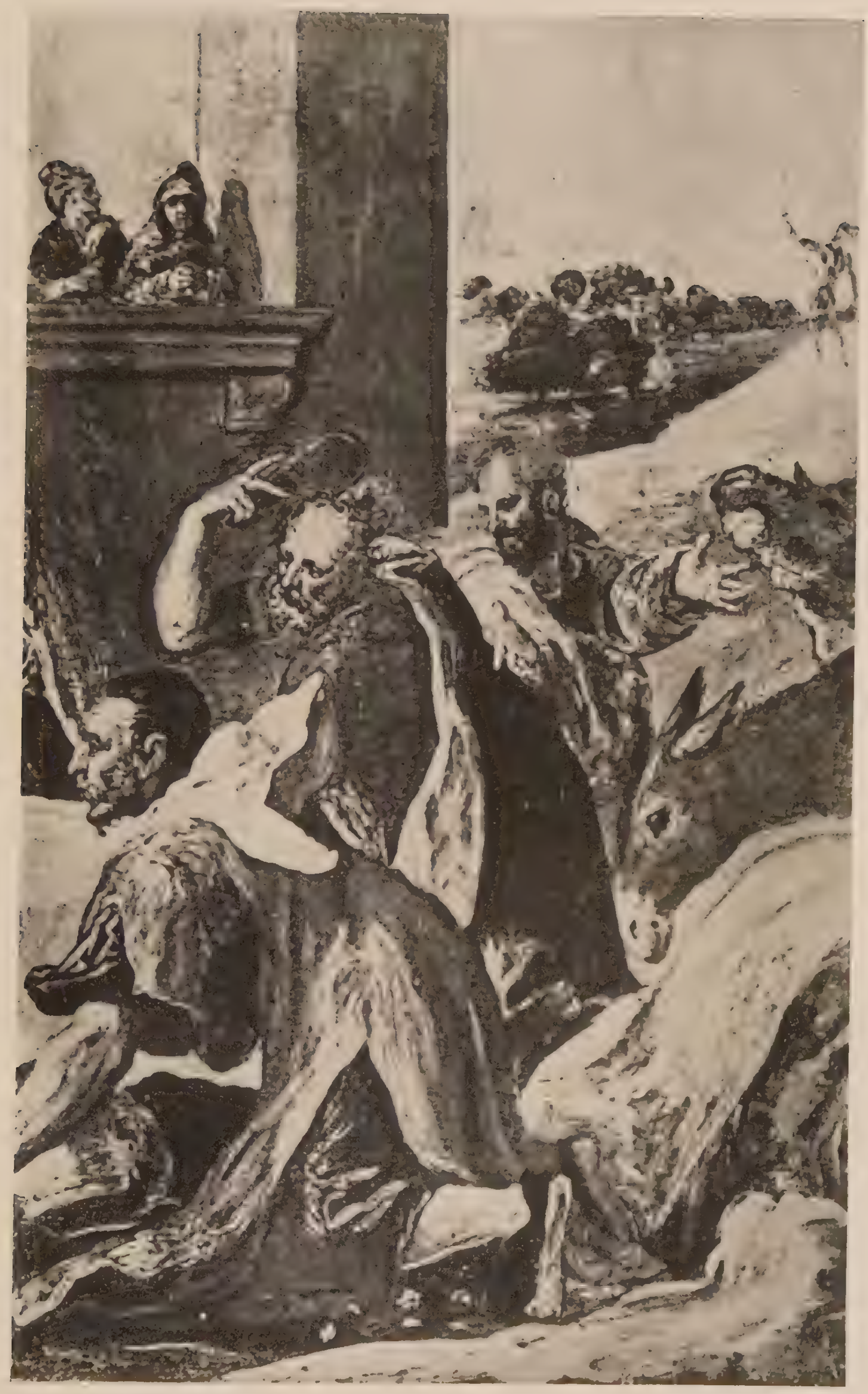

3. Adoration of the Shepherds. Detail: from Willumsen (Cat. 4)

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and blue, but the Magdalene wears a wine-red mantle, lined with several shades of bluish green, over a yellow dress, and St. John is clothed in a robe, which, in color and texture, resembles nothing so much as the yolk of an imperfectly hard-boiled egg, while a rich brown mantle, lined with a metallic green, trails round his feet. The background is in shades of greenish and yellowish browns, and the whole is covered over with a slobber of white high-lights and is set against the ashen and bloodless flesh tints of an emaciated Byzantine Saint!

Though it was ten years before Greco repeated this composition, he must have become aware of its artistic incongruities soon after its achievement, for there exists what was almost certainly its companion piece in quite a sober scheme of color. The *Stigmatisation of S. Francis on Mt. Alvernia*, now at Sr. Zuloaga's Villa at Zumaya, is identical in size, but seems to have been the later of the two to be painted. Though the subject does not lend itself to such a varied gamut of color, there is evidence that Greco had learned a lesson from his earlier effort. Having tried areas of different bright colors placed next to one another with unfortunate results, he next attempted to diffuse what color his subject allowed in small flashes throughout the picture. Even the garish and thickly colored sunset — which recalls the robe of S. John in the *Pietà* — is not put on without an admixture of white, and the browns which chiefly occupy the rest of the picture are alleviated by flicks of green and blue wherever possible. The result, however, was that the picture was very dark and murky in tone, so that Greco was compelled to brighten the scale by a method suggested by his Byzantine training. The small white high lights become swirling masses of white smeared profusely over the whole picture. One may imagine that, when comparing this finished picture with a true product of the Venetian manner he was trying so hard to imitate, he realized that the next trace of Byzantinism he had to eliminate was the wholesale superimposition of these white high-lights.

The astonished Brother and the tree formations are taken straight from a woodcut by Boldrini after Titian, dating from about 1566, or, perhaps, from the original drawing, as the attitude of the monk is reversed. In either case a date close to 1566 seems accurate for this picture and its companion.

From Mr. Willumsen's account of the *Nativity* in his collection, — of which, as I have not seen it, I cannot speak with authority, — it appears that it is painted with a liberal variety of colors, more or less fused with one another, and with a much more sparing use of white high-lights. The design is only very slightly modified from an engraving by Cornelius Cort after Taddeo Zuccaro, dated 1567, and, as Cort was in Venice the year or two preceding this date, it is probable that Greco may have met him and painted this picture very shortly after the appearance of the engraving, if not before.

Very close to the *Nativity* in technique and perhaps painted immediately after it is the Richmond version of the *Purification of the Temple*, the most ambitious composition Greco had as yet attempted. Since we know of no prototype for this design, Greco must, at present, be given the credit for having invented it; for, with the best will in the world, I cannot see the connection, which Mr. Willumsen observes, between this and Bassano's *Samson routing the Philistines*. A year or two later we find Bassano painting this subject (in a very differently designed picture at the National Gallery), which had hitherto hardly appeared in Italian art since Giotto painted his stately version of it on the walls of the Arena Chapel, though it acquired a certain vogue in the seventeenth century (*e. g.*, Carlo Dolci, Walker Gallery, Minneapolis, 97; Cavallino, in Sestieri Collection, Rome; unknown pupil of Caravaggio, Depot of Berlin Museum; Venusti, in London). It may not, perhaps, be too much to suppose — the Council of Trent having concluded its twenty years' session in 1563 — that artists and patrons found in this theme a suggestive analogy for the activities of the Counter-Reformation.

The prostrate female on the left was derived from Titian's Prado *Bacchanal* and it is possible that drawings of Titian may have provided some of the other poses in this not unsuccessful composition. It is true that confusion reigns in a confused scene and that Greco was later to clarify this composition into a fine orderliness, but it remains, on the whole, a competent arrangement of a Bacchanal design, complicated by the figures, for the most part, being clothed. Greco appears in this picture as an eclectic borrower: the rhythmic urgency of the composition recalls Tintoret; the exuberant female types have an air of Veronese; and the animals may, perhaps, suggest Bassano, whose one claim to a Venetian reputation rested on his fondness for painting them, if we may rely on Titian's remark to a homely client, that "he should apply to Bassano, who excelled with animals." Dark shades of green, blue, and brown predominate, and the coloring must once have had a sober dignity that time has not allowed it to preserve, as the pigment has clotted and the color disappeared in patches. The modelling is fairly plastic, and the figures show evidence of a physical existence: for the first time Greco has painted a picture which can fairly be called Venetian.

Arrived here, Greco turned for inspiration to his master Titian, a better model than the mediocrities who had hitherto provided the designs for his pictures. Though the two following pictures are neither documented nor signed, the attribution has much to commend it, as they account for what would otherwise be a gap in the artist's development. They are:

Portrait of Ranuccio Farnese	Berlin, no. 339a.
Portrait of Paul III. (Farnese)	New York Market, 1929 (Spinola).

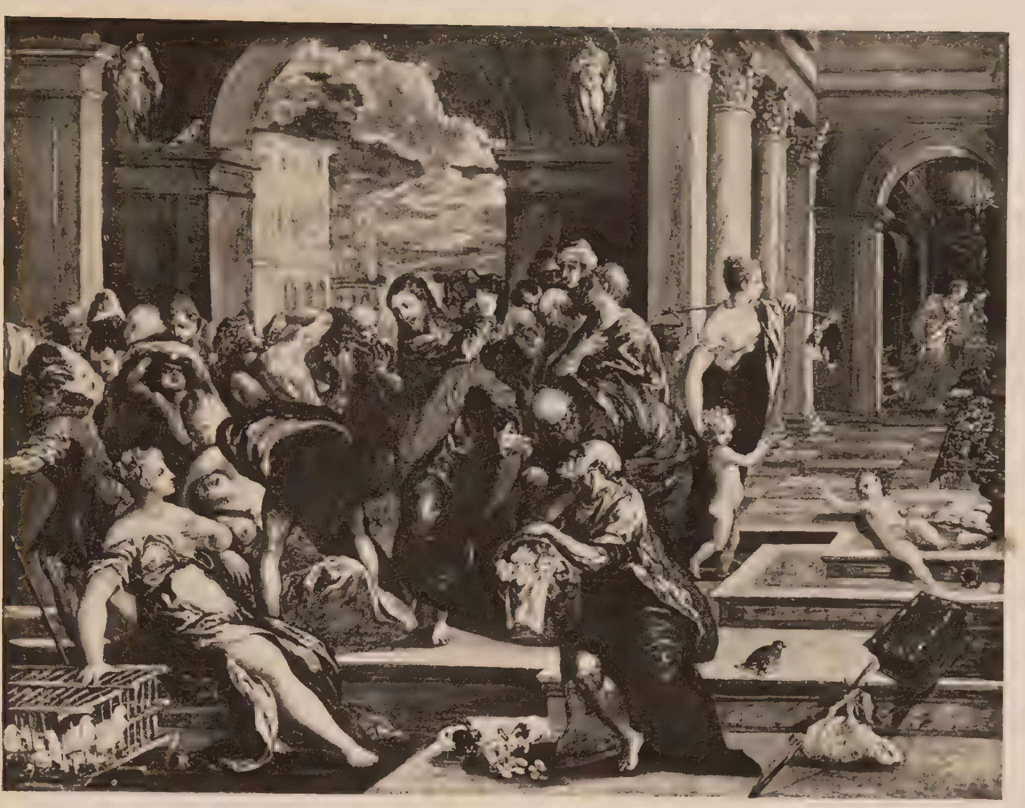
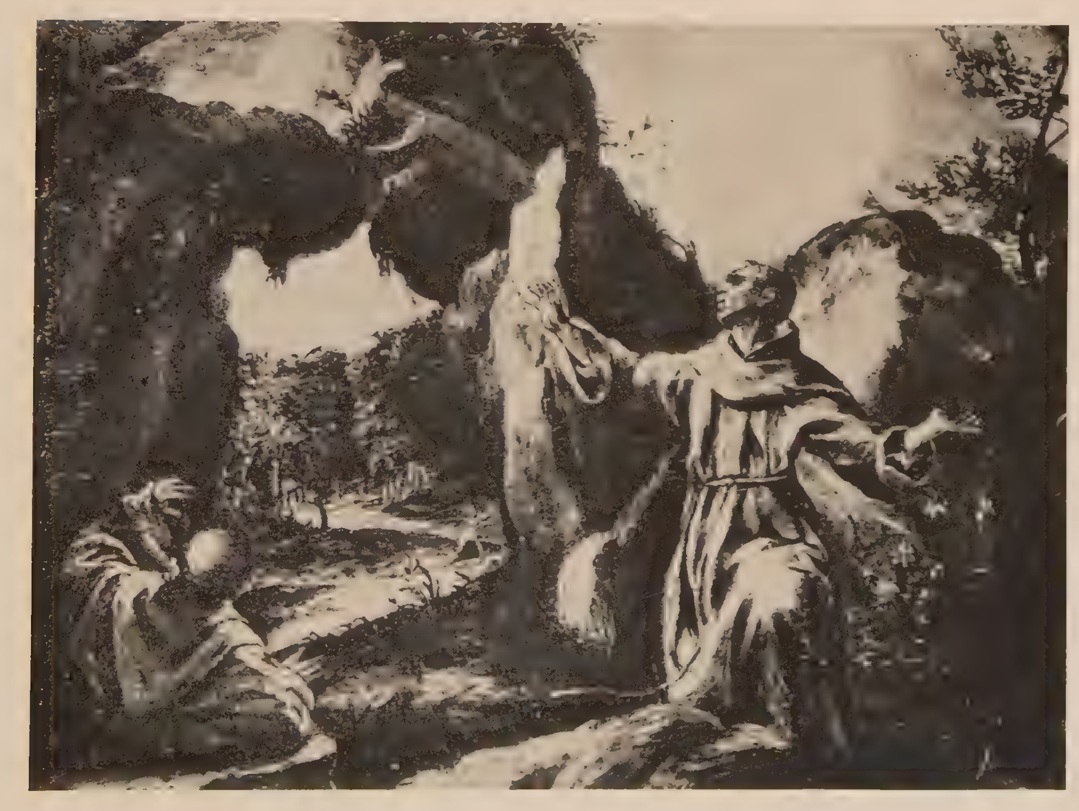
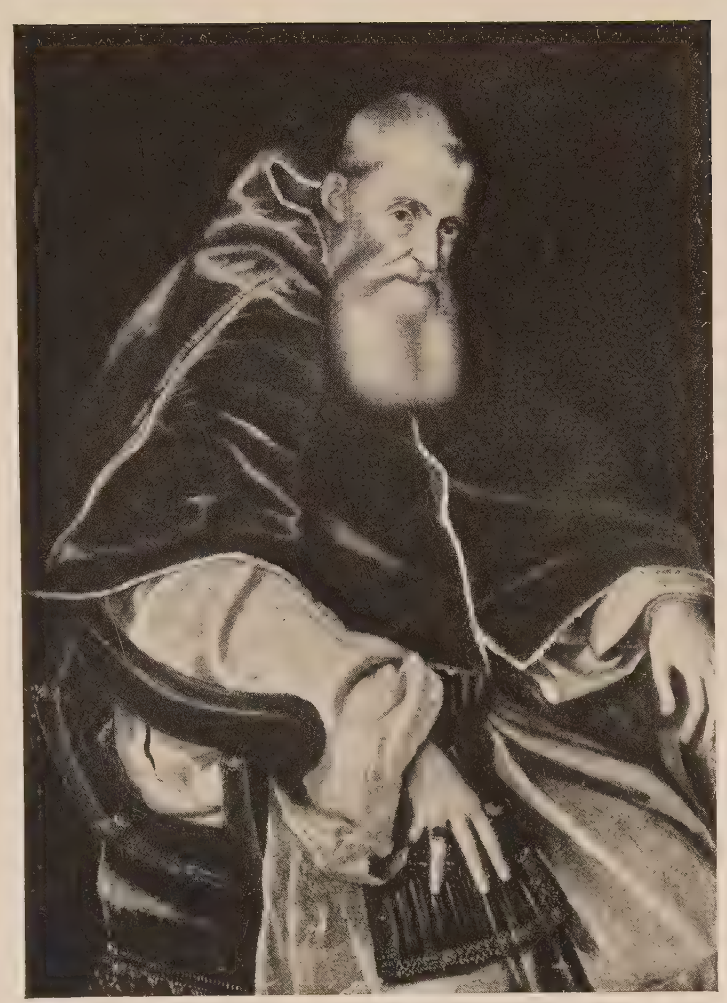


Photo Anderson

4. Purification of the Temple (Cat. 5)

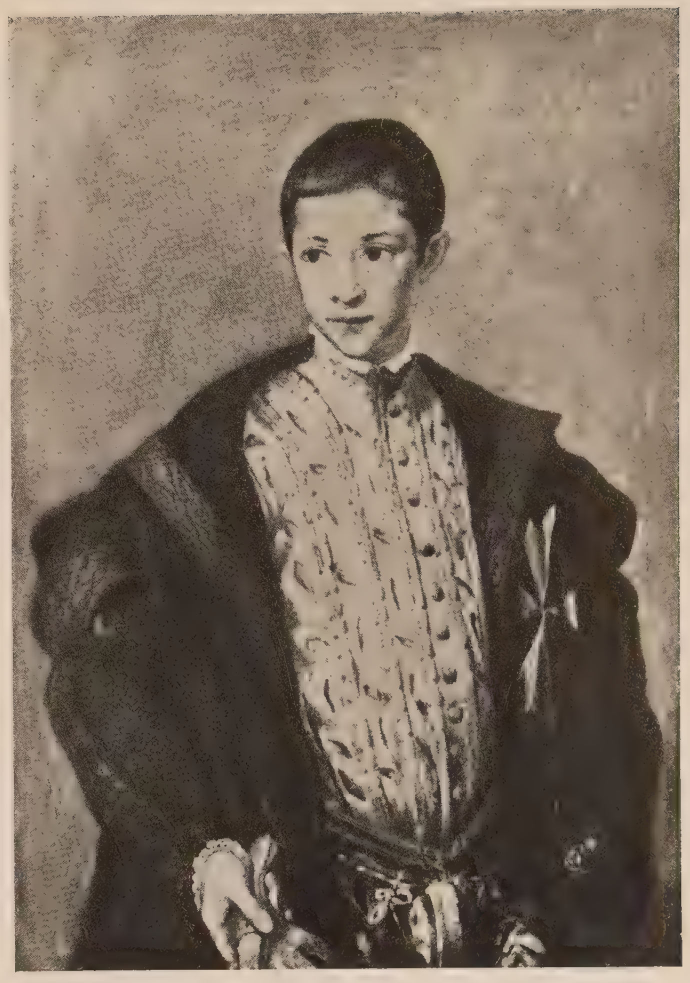


5. Paolo Fiammingo (?). S. Francis. Bergamo Gallery



Courtesy of Marquis Spinola

6. Pope Paul III (Farnese) (Cat. 7)



7. Ranuccio Farnese (Cat. 6)

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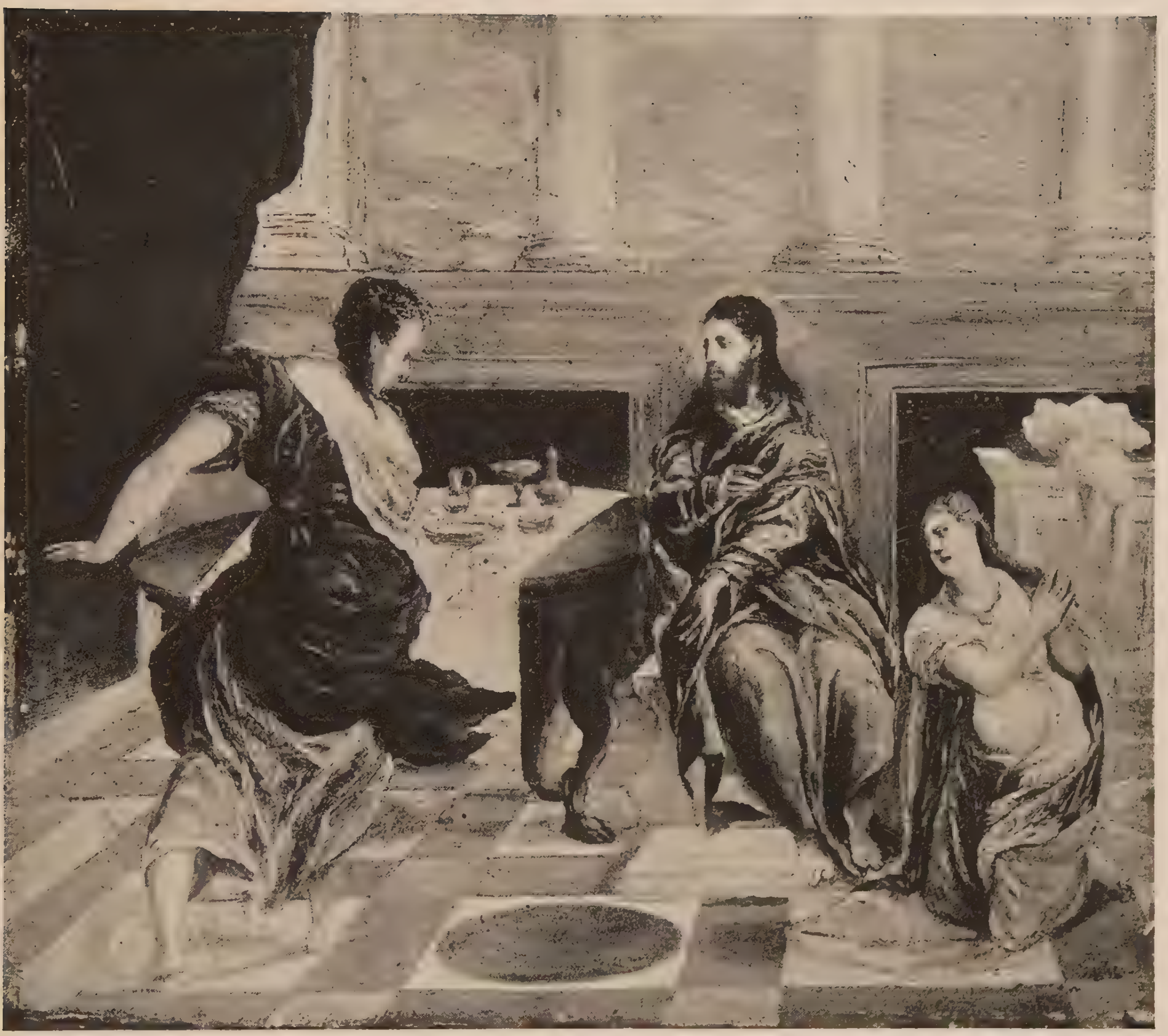

Courtesy of the Ehrich Galleries

8. Christ in the House of Martha and Mary (Cat. 8)

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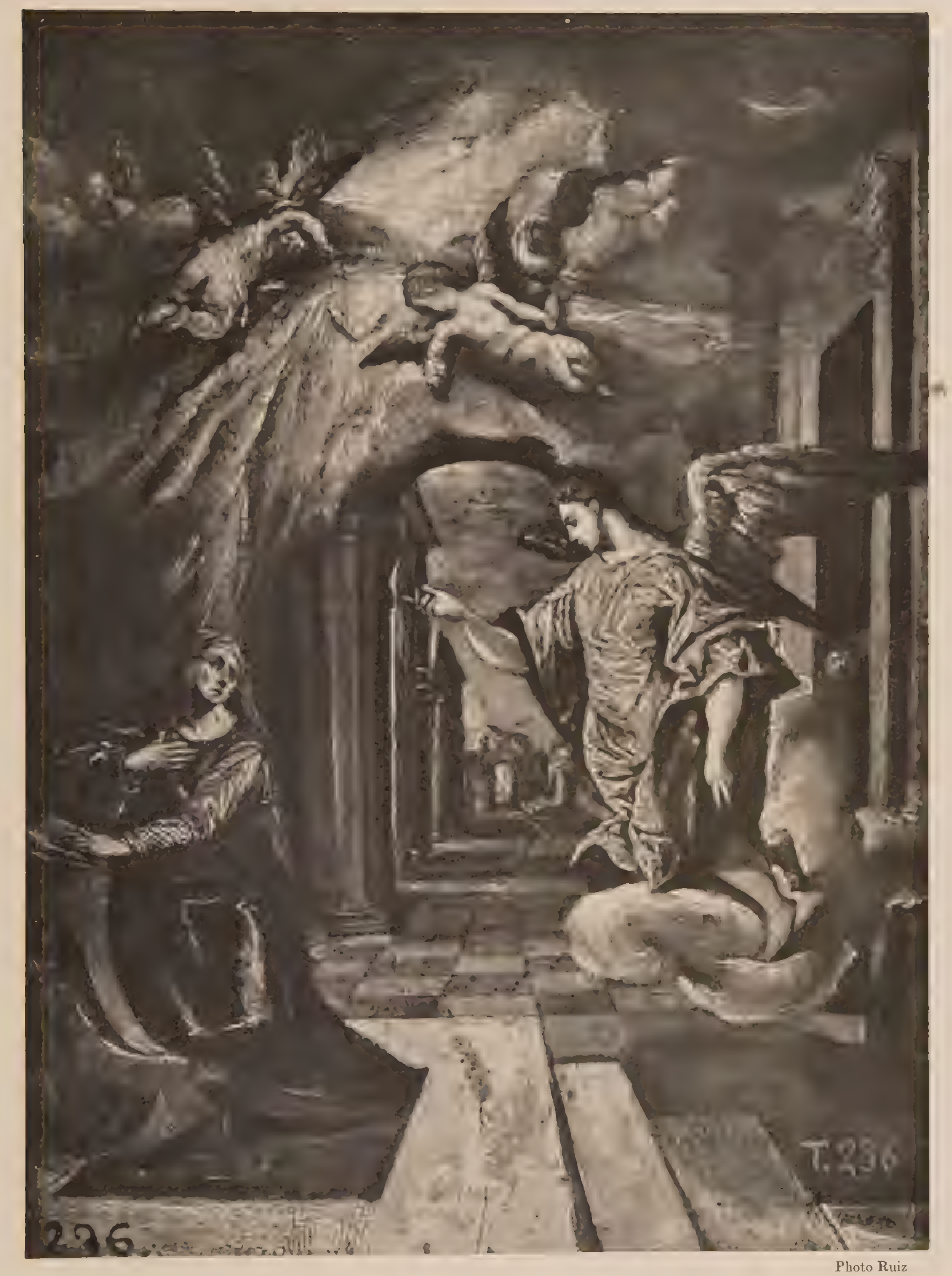

Photo Ruiz

9. Annunciation (Cat. 9)

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Each is a small copy on panel of a life-size portrait by Titian of a member of the Farnese family. They were probably painted in Venice 1568–69, at a time when Greco already intended to go to Rome, so that with them, as well as an introduction to Clovio, he might obtain the patronage of Cardinal Farnese. To assume that they were done in Rome, when living at the Farnese Palace, would involve dating the *Portrait of Clovio* much later than is probable, as well as cast doubts on Clovio's honesty when he says that Greco's painting in 1570 "fa stupire tutti questi pittori di Roma."

The coloring in both is very Titianesque and wholly different from his previous experiments. The white high-lights have become minute flicks which add brilliance to the surrounding color, and the result is very successful. Ranuccio's portrait did not admit of much variation in the design, but it is interesting to note the considerable liberties Greco has taken with that of Paul III. By changing the axis of the body and particularizing the hands, he has given the sitter a heightened individuality and an increased sense of spiritual life. These copies mark a great technical advance.

Simultaneously with these and in direct succession to the earlier religious panels, Greco painted the *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary* (Herr Marczell von Nemes, Munich), closer to the Cook picture in technique, but connected with the two portrait copies by being made up from a farrago of motives from Titian. Martha's uncertain equipoise is due to the borrowing of her upper half from the organ-player in Titian's Madrid *Venus with the Organ-player* (by a similar operation the loan of the prostrate female from Titian's *Bacchanal* is partly concealed, in later versions of the *Purification of the Temple*, by a change of sex); Mary combines the pose of the Virgin from the Salute *Pentecost* with certain details from Titian's own *Magdalene;* while Christ takes his features from the figure in the Minneapolis *Temptation* and his gesture from the *Tribute Money!* Here, certainly, the most sceptical cannot doubt that Titian was Greco's master. In color, too, this picture owes much to him: Christ is in red and blue, Martha wears a russet brown mantle swathed precariously round a dress of pale mauve-blue, while Mary is clad in a pale yellow mantle, lined light blue, over a soft pink dress, now, unhappily, faded. A rich green curtain, a sky of the most limpid blue, and a floor, which is an arabesque of white, gray, yellow-brown, and mauve patches, complete the color scheme of this very engaging picture. Motives from Titian are used with a crude ingenuousness almost amounting to genius.

I am not satisfied that the *S. Francis receiving the Stigmata* (Bergamo, Lochis, no. 178) is by Greco, though the attribution has been universally accepted (Figure 5). The composition here is derived, even more faithfully than in the Zuloaga picture, from Boldrini's woodcut, which served others too as a source of inspiration (cf. a picture in the Piccinelli collection at Seriate),[1] and the wide spacing of the figures is not characteristic of Greco. Though the hands of Brother Leon, the foreground flowers, and the tree in the upper right-hand corner recall him, they are not sufficiently peculiar to his style to necessitate the attribution, while other parallels are perhaps close enough to suggest the same hand for this as for the *Rape of Proserpine* in the Doria Gallery, Rome,[2] which — in spite of Mr. Willumsen's attribution to Greco — is almost certainly by Paolo Fiammingo. The general tonality of the picture is a dull brown, and it would not, even if we could accept it as a Greco, be of much significance for the study of his development.

There follows a group of pictures most conveniently classed as transitional in style from the Venetian to the Roman period. Though the latest of them were probably painted in Rome, they show Greco's derivative Venetian manner as yet more or less uncontaminated by other influences. These seem to use tempera on panel and are almost the last pictures Greco painted in this way. As soon as he strove to attain a mature and personal style, painting works on a more ambitious scale, he adopted oil as his principal medium and discarded wood for canvas. The pictures are these:

Annunciation	Madrid, Prado, no. 827.
Flight into Egypt	New York market, 1929 (Agnew).
Espolio	Chéramy sale, Paris, 1908.
Espolio	former del Drago Coll., Rome.
Healing of the Blind Man	Dresden Gallery, no. 276.

The most Venetian of these is the *Annunciation*. The paved corridor recalls Titian's early *Annunciation* in the Cathedral at Treviso, and the disposition of the figures is not unlike the later picture in the Scuola di S. Rocco, but the glory of cherubs in the air is nearer to Veronese, — from whom Greco took not a little, — and the whole arrangement of the picture — the pose of both the Virgin and the Angel, poised on a fluffy cloud — suggest that Greco had seen that artist's magnificent *Annunciation* once in the Koppel collection at Berlin.[3] In general, however, Greco had too little in common with that typical and robust child of the Italian Renaissance to have learned from him anything more than such casual details of composition. The coloring is comparatively sober, — chiefly red, blue, and the yellow of the angel's robe, — and the pleasing, though gaudy, effect of the many-colored pavement in the Nemes picture is not repeated.

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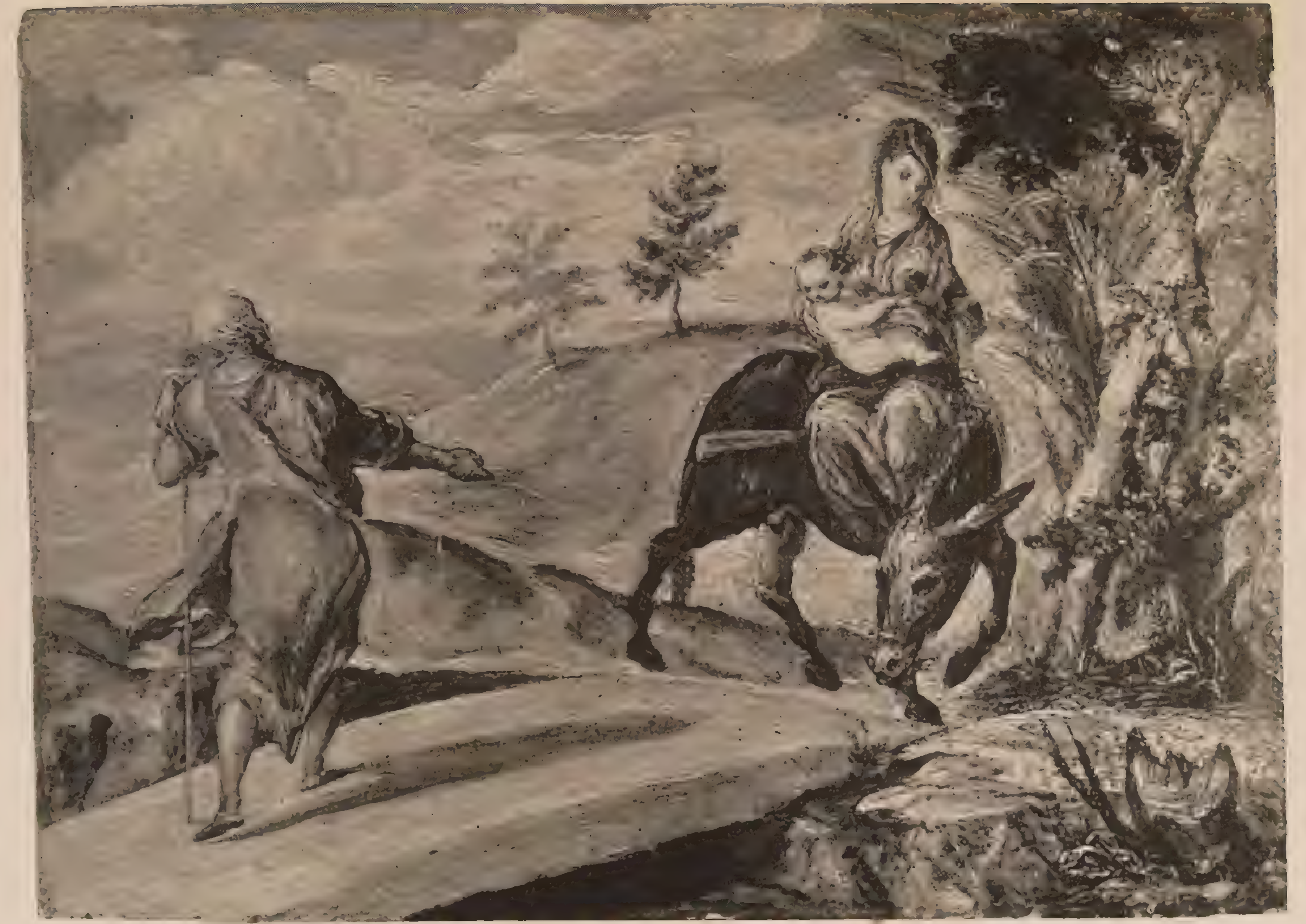
[1] Reproduced as by Greco to illustrate an article by Federigo Giolli in *Emporium* (Bergamo), vol. XXXIX (1914), p. 365.

[2] Reproduced in Willumsen, vol. II, p. 307. For the drawing at Amsterdam and the justification of the ascription to Paolo Fiammingo, cf. Peltzer. *Münchner Jahrbuch* (1924), pp. 126 ff.

[3] A very important picture which has been unaccountably neglected in the literature on Veronese. It is pl. 50 in the *Archiv für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. I (1913), Seemann.



Courtesy of Messrs. Thos. Agnew & Sons

10. Flight into Egypt (Cat. 10)

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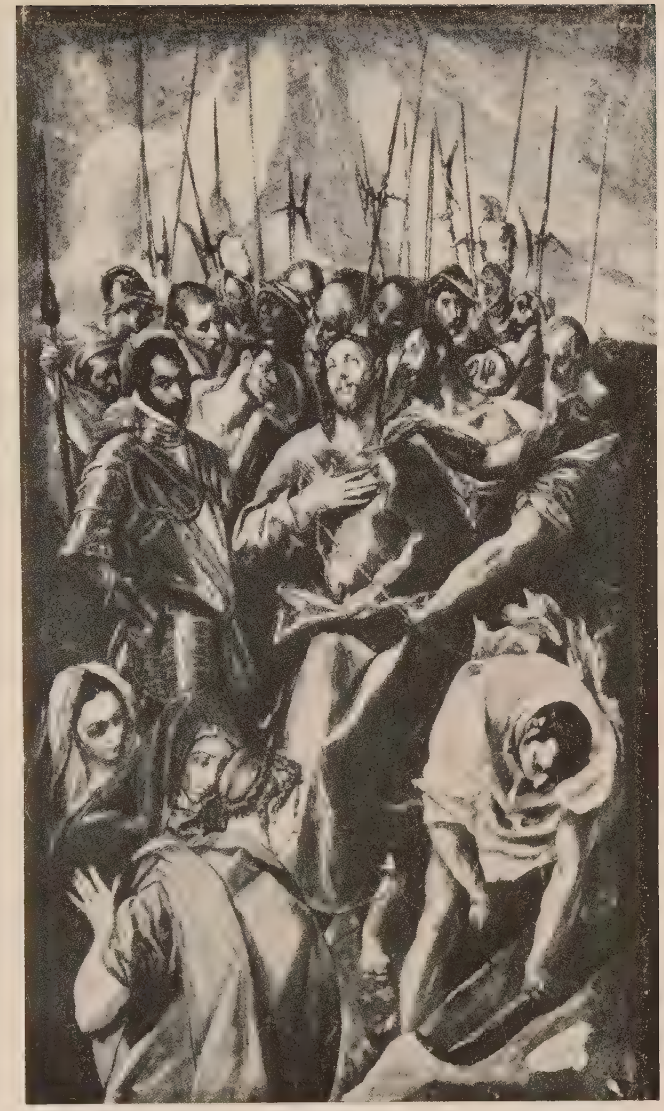
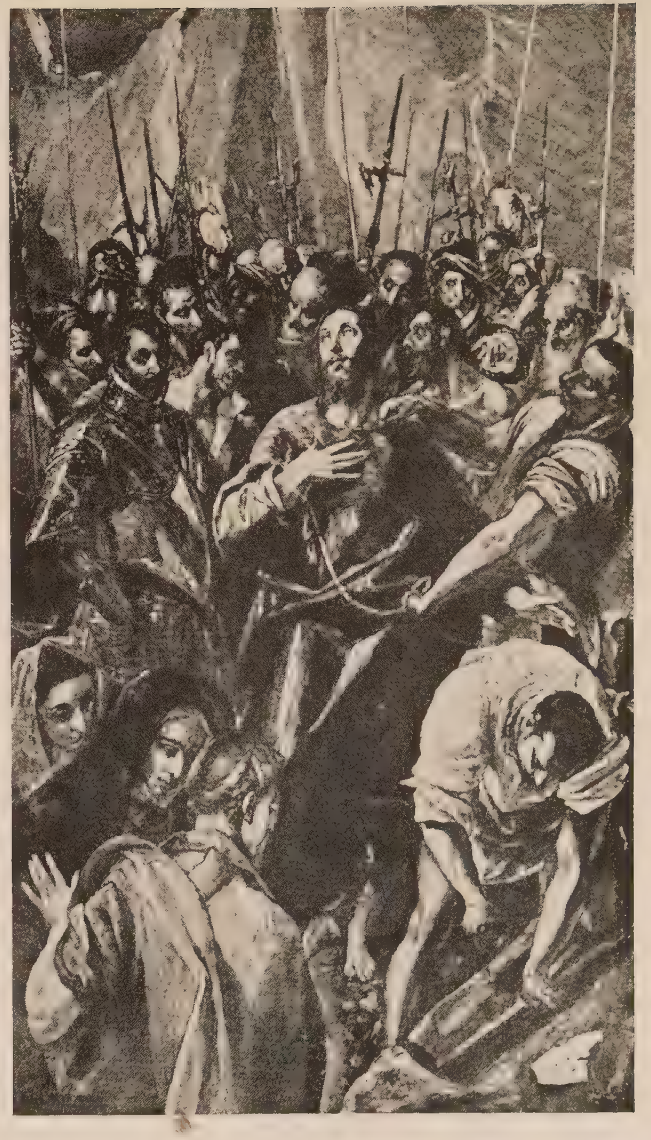


11. Espolio (Cat. 11)



12. Espolio (Cat. 12)

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In the *Annunciation* and the two following pictures Greco arrived almost at perfection in this miniature Venetian manner,—a manner peculiar to him,—only to renounce this perfection in search of something new. This is not the only time in his life that he deliberately rejected a particular style of painting once he had satisfied himself in that field. His strength as an artist, and the stumbling-block for his contemporaries, was this restless unwillingness to remain satisfied with an attained perfection. The *Flight into Egypt* is a picture as perfect in its kind as one could well imagine, and yet, hardly more than a year later, he painted such an unfortunate failure as the Dresden *Healing of the Blind Man.* The *Flight into Egypt* combines a jewel-like quality with a bigness of scale, which puts it on the same artistic level as such monumental achievements in miniature as Mr. Mackay's *Mantegna* and the *Pesellino,* which, until lately, was the brightest, if the smallest, ornament of Dorchester House. Fleecy clouds chase across a limpid blue sky; the Virgin is in a rather vivid red and blue, S. Joseph wears an orange-brown mantle over a light blue robe, and the scene takes place in a valley with an infinite distance receding to a range of pearly hills. The foreground sparkles like a topaz. The interpretation of the scene is playful and unusual: the ass, on which the Madonna and the Child are riding, is frightened of the water, while S. Joseph struggles to pull the reluctant animal across a bridge of stone so solid that he himself seems but a flimsy fancy. One is at first surprised to find a religious picture with such a naïve emphasis on genre from an artist chiefly famed for his later attempts at expressing in visible form the realities of the religious experience, but Greco's personal preoccupation with these problems hardly began before 1580, and we find a similar tendency in other works done in Rome a year or two later, such as the *Boy blowing a Candle* and the *Illustration to a Proverb.*

Another example of Greco's interest in the momentary drama of a situation is to be seen in the *Espolio,* the first version of which — a picture last heard of when it was bought by a M. Ducrey at the Chéramy sale in 1908 — must, on technical grounds, be very close to the *Flight into Egypt.* The two pictures seem also, at one time, to have belonged to the same collection, as both have branded on the back a coronet and the initials DGH interlaced. Unhappily, I have never seen either this *Espolio* or the other small version of the same design (formerly belonging to Prince del Drago in Rome), which can only be a very little later; but it seems possible, from what the photographs reveal of the technique, as well as from the fact that both are small pictures on panel, that neither dates very long after 1570. It is certainly difficult to see how Greco can be held responsible for a design so large and, in the main, so competent as the *Espolio,* when, hardly a year later, he perpetrated a composition so halting and so ill-arranged as the *Healing of the Blind Man* — a picture with slightly fewer figures. One is compelled to seek an 'origin' for the *Espolio.*

This particular moment in the Passion of Christ does not seem to have been represented previously, but Greco's picture shows a combination of the traditional designs for the *Kiss of Judas* and for the *Mocking of Christ.* Mélida [1] and others have already pointed out the parallel to such Byzantine representations of the *Kiss of Judas* as the mosaic in the Cathedral of Monreale, with its seething array of soldiers around the central figure of Christ, their spears and axes projecting straight upright into the sky; while Kehrer sees a connection with Dürer's engraving of the *Flagellation* from the Large Passion Series, where some of the gestures are not dissimilar and the man binding the switches has a certain affinity with Greco's carpenter boring holes in the Cross.[2] Neither of these suggestions, alone or in combination, is at all convincing, and all one can say is that the two together may possibly have suggested to El Greco the main outlines of his composition! Greco's use of engravings as a source for his design has been shown, and he could hardly have failed to have seen the *Flagellation*, as Dürer's prints were popular in Italy at this time, and especially in Venice. The Dürer suggestion gains slight circumstantial plausibility, if we agree that Greco's *Trinity*, now in the Prado, is derived from Dürer's engraving of the same subject.

The coloring of the Chéramy picture, from the account in the Catalogue, is brilliant and jewel-like, as would be expected at this date, but it remains difficult to explain how Greco can, thus early, have anticipated one of the triumphs of his early Spanish years, and have developed, apparently at the first effort, so new and fitting a collection of appropriate types. The model for the carpenter is the same as for the blind man in the Dresden picture, and the soldiers are most probably studies from life of the types which so generously thronged the quays of the Queen of the Adriatic. They are usually vaguely assumed to be "Spanish," but Professor Mather has pointed out that they could probably all be paralleled in Italy (Schiavone has painted some kindred figures). The white mantilla of one of the Holy Women is rather a stumbling-block to a Venetian dating, but I hardly think it is too much to suppose that Greco, seeing this Spanish woman in Venice, may justly have found in her a fitting model for the Magdalene. With our knowledge of his later achievements, it is a little hard to remember that, at this time, Greco was essentially a naturalistic painter.[3]

[1] J. R. Mélida, *El Arte Antiguo y el Greco* (Madrid, 1915), p. 13.

[2] H. Kehrer, *Spanische Kunst* (1926), p. 61.

[3] I confess that I am not wholly satisfied with my dating of the early Espolios, but, until one of them reappears, honesty compels me to adopt this embarrassing date. The only satisfactory explanation I can give is perhaps sufficiently outrageous to be confined to a footnote: none the less, I am inclined to believe it. A version on panel formerly adorned the Manfrini Palace, Venice, as a Baroccio, and later belonged to Carl Justi in Bonn. To Cossío this was a Greco of the period transitional from Italy to Spain, but Mayer doubts if it be by Greco, without, however, suggesting any alternative. It differs from the others in a number of particulars of the mob around Christ and is really a *Mocking of Christ* and not an *Espolio*, while the Magdalene wears, not a mantilla, but a typical Venetian hood. If by

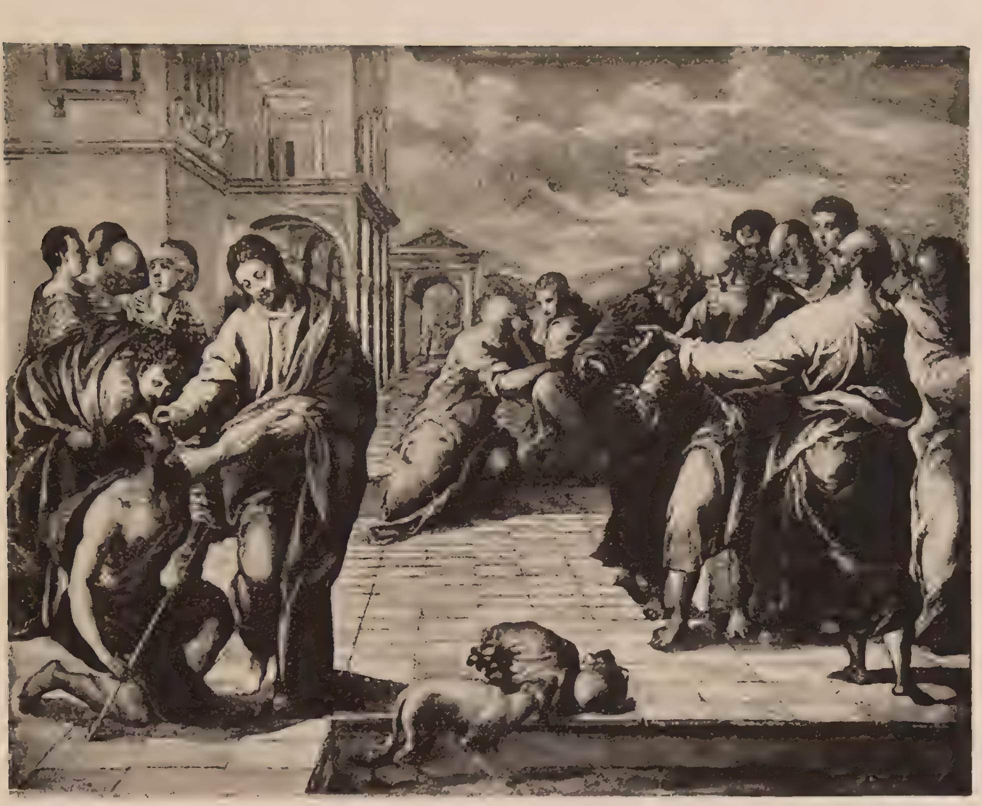
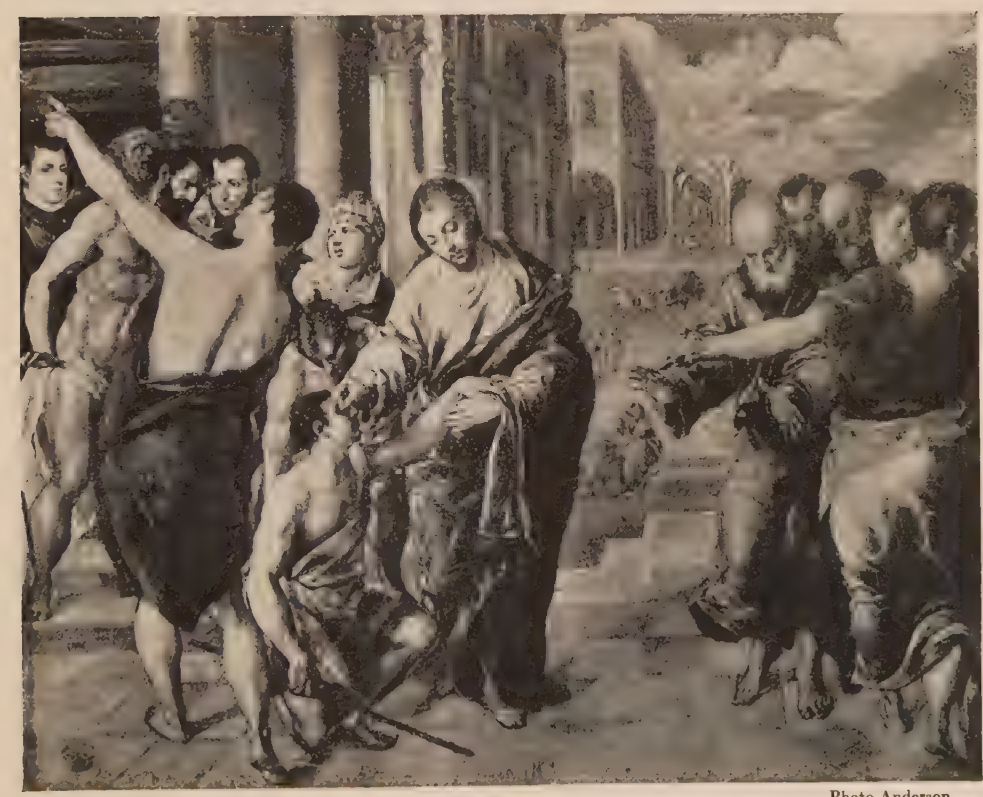


Photo Bruckmann

13. The Healing of the Blind Man (Cat. 13)



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14. The Healing of the Blind Man (Cat. 15)

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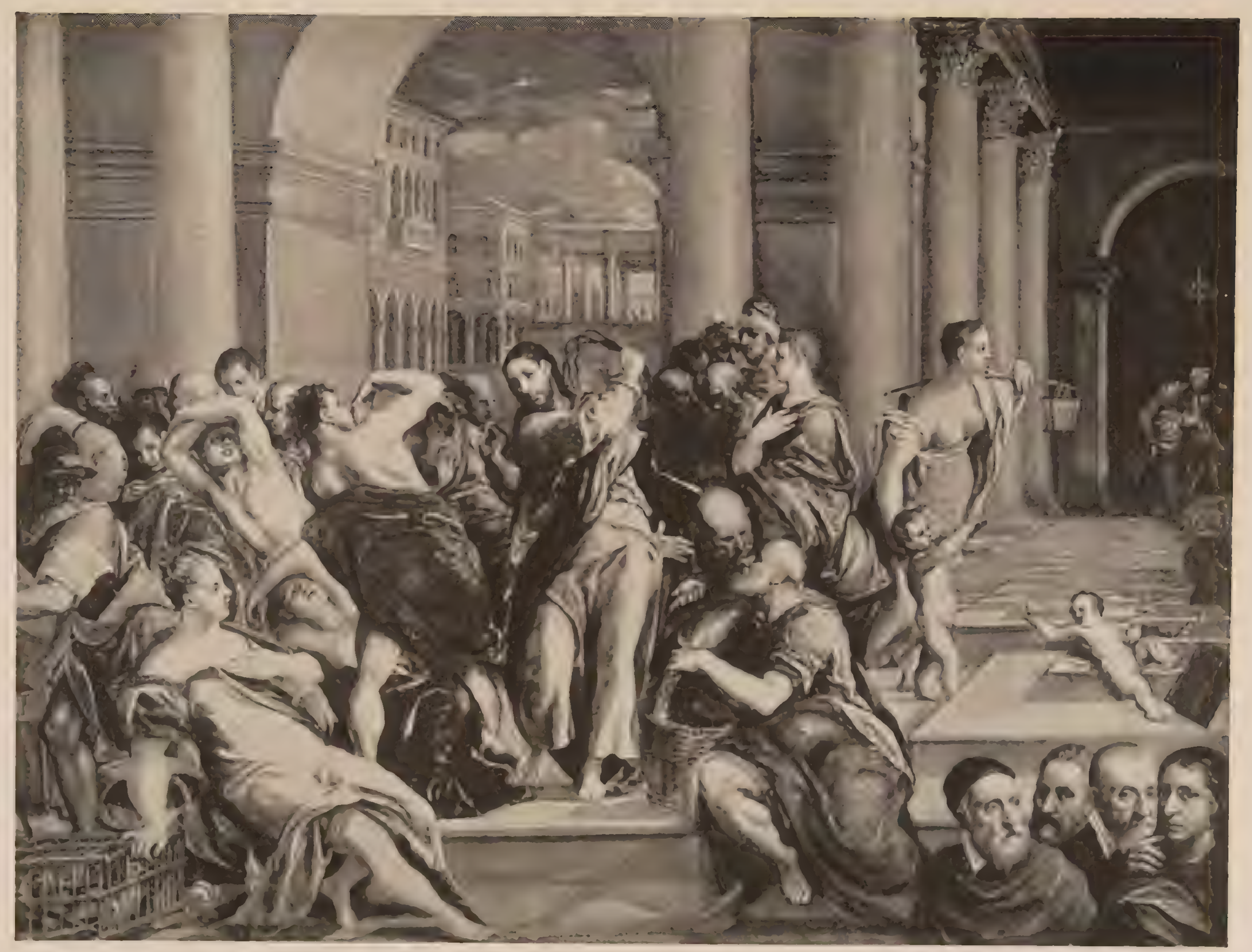

Courtesy of Minneapolis Institute of Arts

15. Purification of the Temple (Cat. 14)

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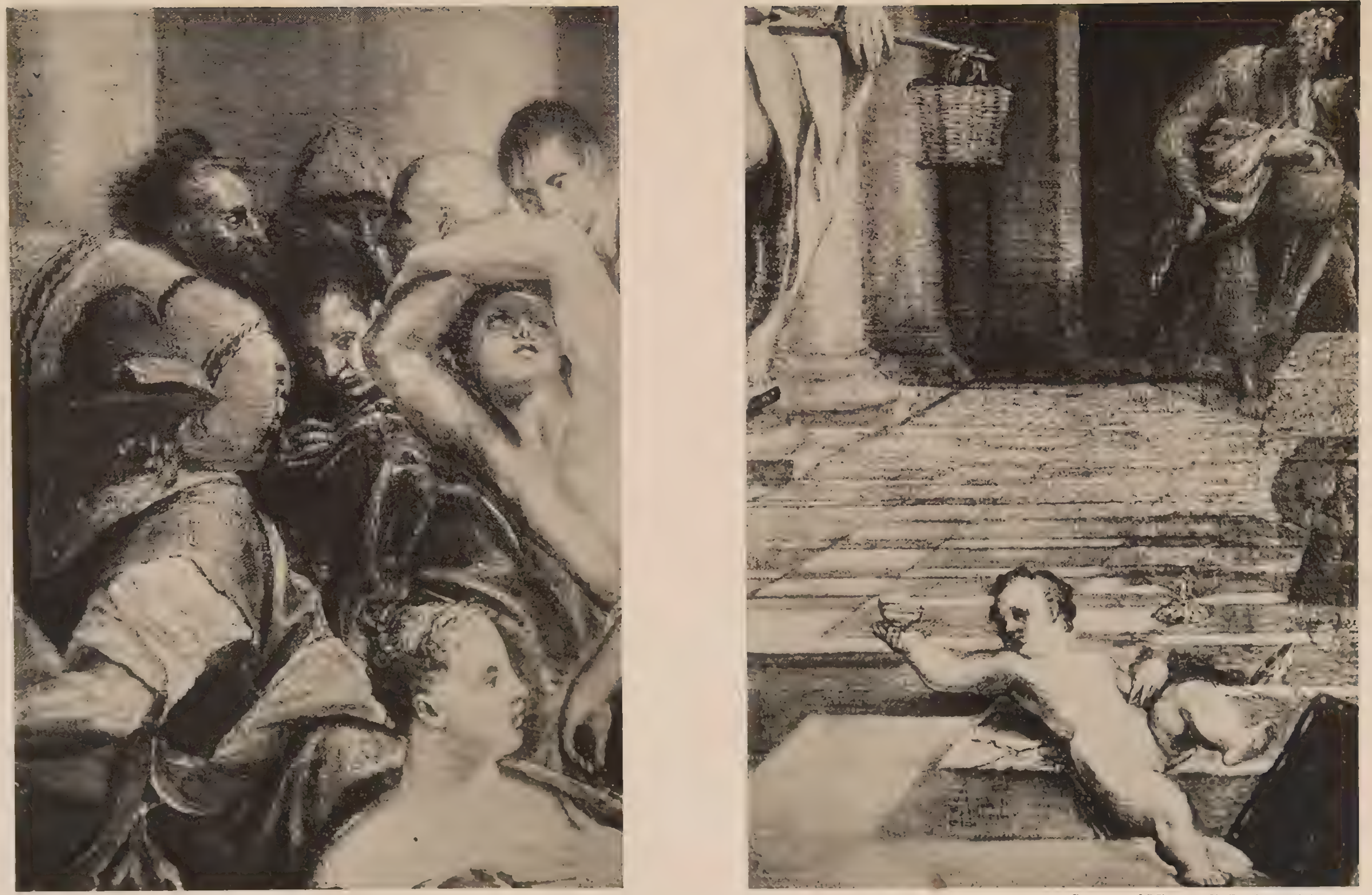

Courtesy of Minneapolis Institute of Arts

Courtesy of Minneapolis Institute of Arts

16. Details of Plate XI

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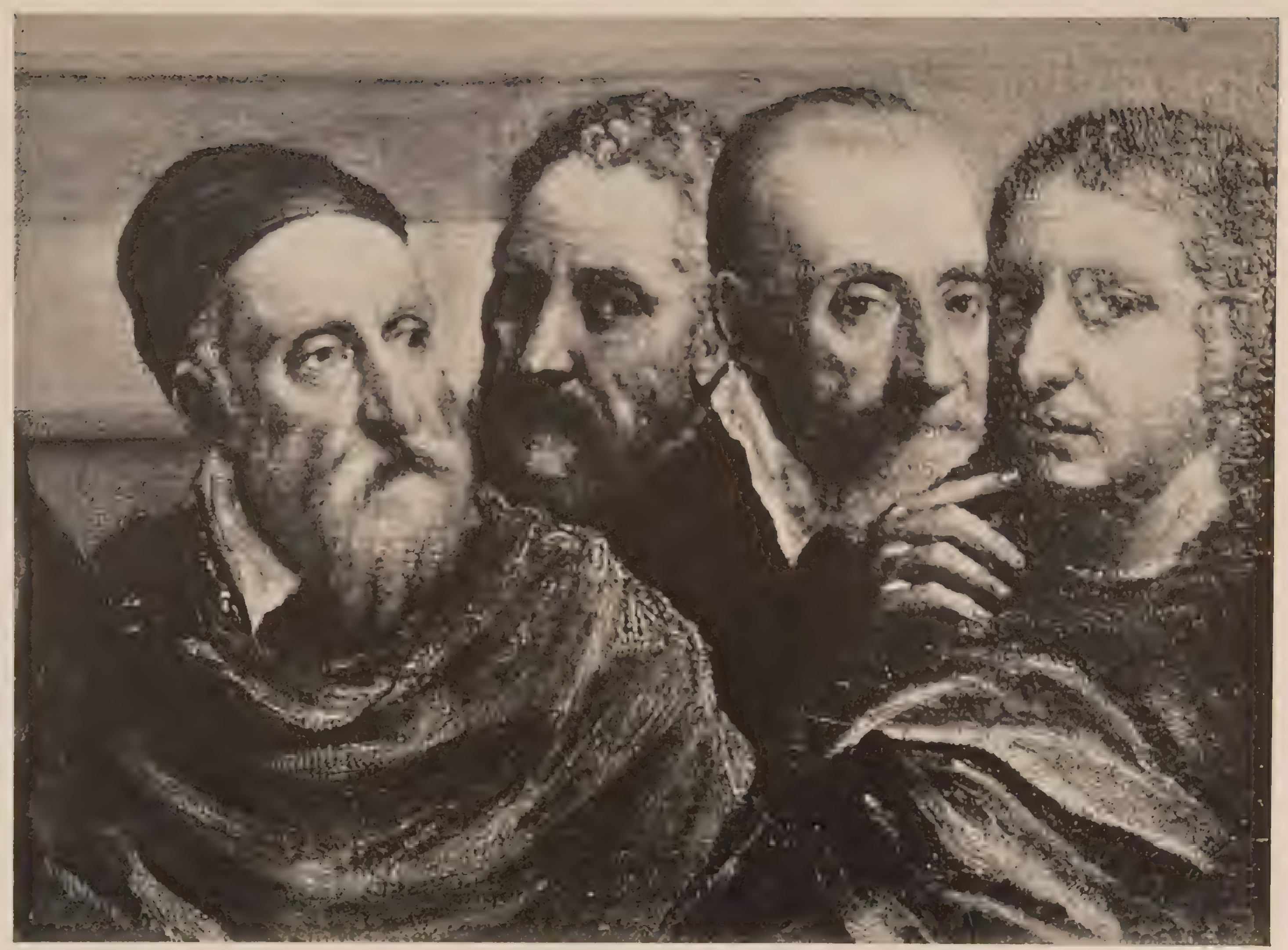

Courtesy of Minneapolis Institute of Arts

17. Detail of Plate XI

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Though the last of this series of panels was certainly painted in Rome, its technical affinities are with the Venetian pictures. The *Healing of the Blind Man* at Dresden is a most useful picture in which to consider Greco's transition from Venice to Rome. Though Venetian at a casual glance, on inspection it betrays a surprising change of mood.

Its condition is so bad — few patches of the original paint being preserved — that its interest lies entirely in the evidence it gives of other than Venetian influences. The architecture, a sort of bastard Palladian, is not Venetian, and can be given no positive local habitation, but this is not the most significant variation from the Venetian canon—something very odd has happened to the design. Two forces are at work to make the design the unhappy failure that it is: a desire to make the narrative explicit and an equally strong interest in experimenting with the problem of realizing figures at different distances from the spectator. The "only begetter" of both these ambitions was Raphael.

In Venice Greco had attained to as much skill as he cared to have in the rather slight field to which he had limited his activities, letting the composition, as often as not, take care of itself by the simple expedient of borrowing most of it from someone else. It was probably sheer restlessness which made him go to Rome, in search, maybe, of "an ampler aether, a diviner air"! He would betake himself at once to the Vatican, where Raphael and his scholars had painted the story of the Old Testament and the glories of antiquity in a way which Venice had never shown him. Instead of figures, vibrant with an inner vitality, making the cold air fire with their own warmth, he found an ample, lapping air, a dignity of space, which elevated the men that breathed it to a more glorious height of humanity; instead of momentary drama or static repose, he found a narrative composition with an informing eloquence of gesture, which took its time to tell its story. For a few puzzled months Greco became a narrative painter!

A glance at such of the paintings in the Loggie as *Pharaoh's Dream* or *The Queen of Sheba before Solomon* shows the type of design and expressive figure Greco was seeking to achieve, and several of the figures, taken singly, have a Raphaelesque eloquence of expostulation. The failure to realize the space, however, huddles them together into confused groups, which the composition refuses to relate one with another, so that the narrative sequence is lost. Greco may well have been disheartened at this first adventure in a new style.

Greco, it is too Titianesque to be earlier than the others, while no artist would have altered his design *afterwards* in quite this way. I suggest it is possibly a repainted Titian (or at least a Venetian picture), though I do not know where it is now to be found and the photograph shows so much repainting that it is impossible to judge. Greco's only contribution to the design was, in consequence, the dramatizing of the moment, and a few details in the figures. This makes it quite easy to put the ex-Chéramy picture about 1570. Since writing the body of this essay I have found a record of the Chéramy picture — apparently — in the Olivarez Inventory (see *Cat.*) as a companion to General Stirlings' "*Vision of Philip* ii," a picture of *ca.* 1576–78. I let what I have said in the text stand, therefore, with this additional *caveat.*

Greco in Rome

The narrative phase did not last long. Greco made one more attempt at realizing an elaborate composition in space, altering somewhat a design he had already used, and then abandoned all such pretensions to naturalism.

The *Purification of the Temple* at Minneapolis discards tempera for oil and panel for canvas. The scale of color is Raphaelesque and far from the jewelled brilliance of the Venetian pictures: though the lakes have faded, many vivid colors remain, but the whole is so blended that, from a slight distance, it gives the effect of a tapestry to which time has given a slightly chalky tone. Though nearly all the figures are taken over bodily from the earlier version at Richmond, the picture gives the clearest evidence of having been, to a certain extent, improvised as the work progressed. At first Greco filled the bottom right-hand corner otherwise than as we see to-day, presumably by having the casket somewhat lower and by a dead sheep on a pole, as at Richmond. Seeing, however, that the composition was swinging too far over to the left, he cut out this piece of canvas — the mark of the new join is clearly visible — and stabilized the design by the four upright portraits, which are painted in a slightly later style closer to that of the *Boy blowing a Candle.* Similarly, in the bottom left-hand corner, the ample female seems, at first, as also in the Richmond picture, to have been toppling backwards with a somewhat fuller swing, but was afterwards corrected so as to prevent the composition from falling out of the picture at this point. The excessively thick impasto reveals that a former position has been altered. Greco has variously improved on the earlier design: Christ is less crowded by surrounding figures, and a solid, rectangular, mass of architecture, placed against His head, gives Him a greater stability, while, in place of the unconvincing structure at Richmond, there is evidence of at least an attempt to see the architecture in perspective. The addition of the portraits is an interesting homage to those artists who had spiritually or materially assisted Greco's development: they are Titian, Clovio, Michelangelo, and, I am satisfied, Raphael.[1]

The colors chiefly employed in the *Purification* are crimson lake, an almost Prussian blue, bluish mauve with yellow lights, a vivid green, a yellow which soon degenerates into brown, and a great variety of shades of brown. The technical handling is loose and rather free, betraying the work which Greco did in Titian's shop, and the beginning can be descried of Greco's habit, invariable in later years, of blurring the contours. The small figures under the

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[1] By no means all critics agree that it is Raphael who is represented, partly, I suspect, from a reluctance to see anything Raphaelesque in Greco. It would hardly be Greco himself, as some have thought, as the group would then lose its point, and Mr. Willumsen's suggestion of Domenico Ghirlandajo shows a genius for improbability.

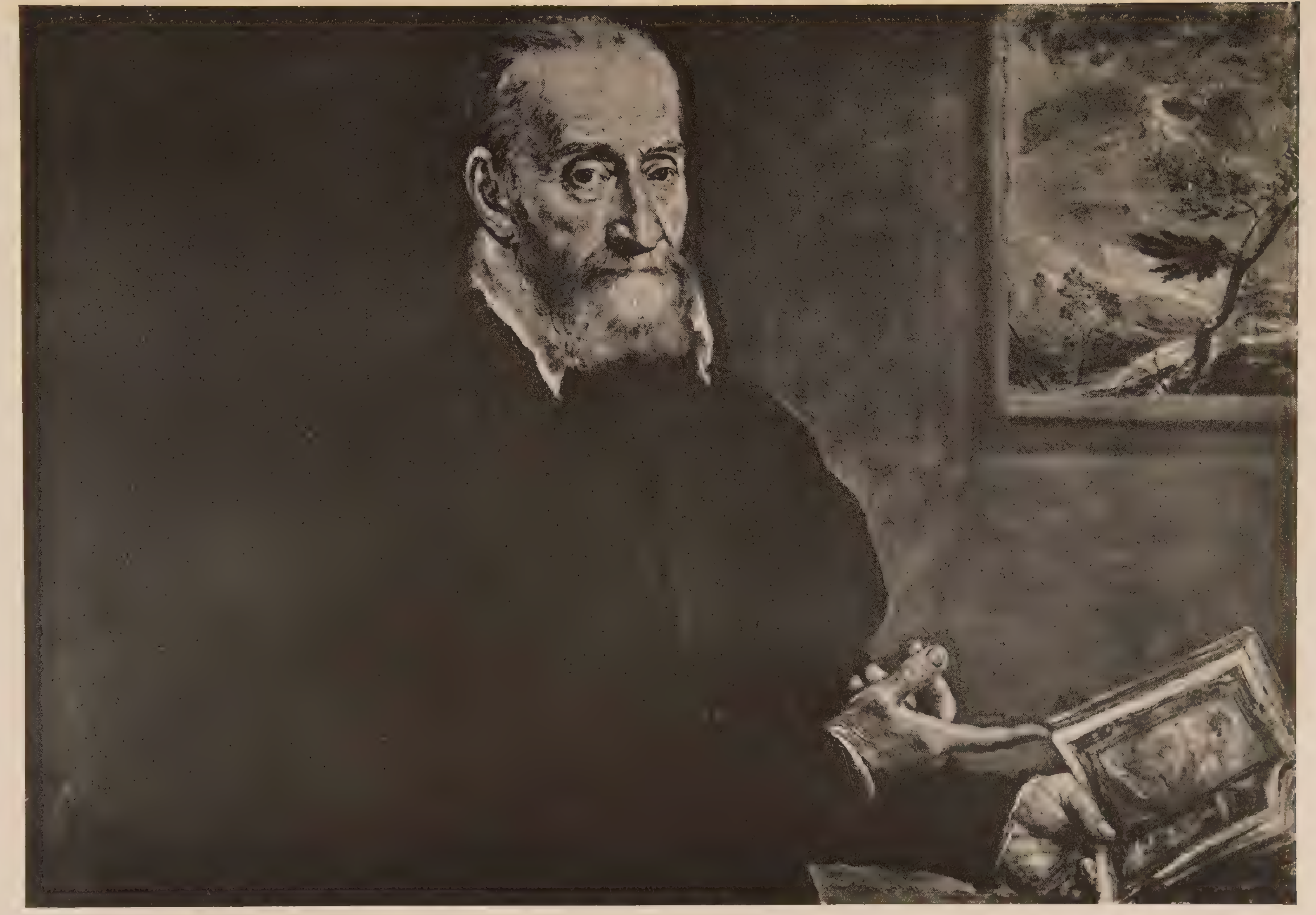

Photo Anderson

18. Portrait of Don Giulio Clovio (Cat. 16)

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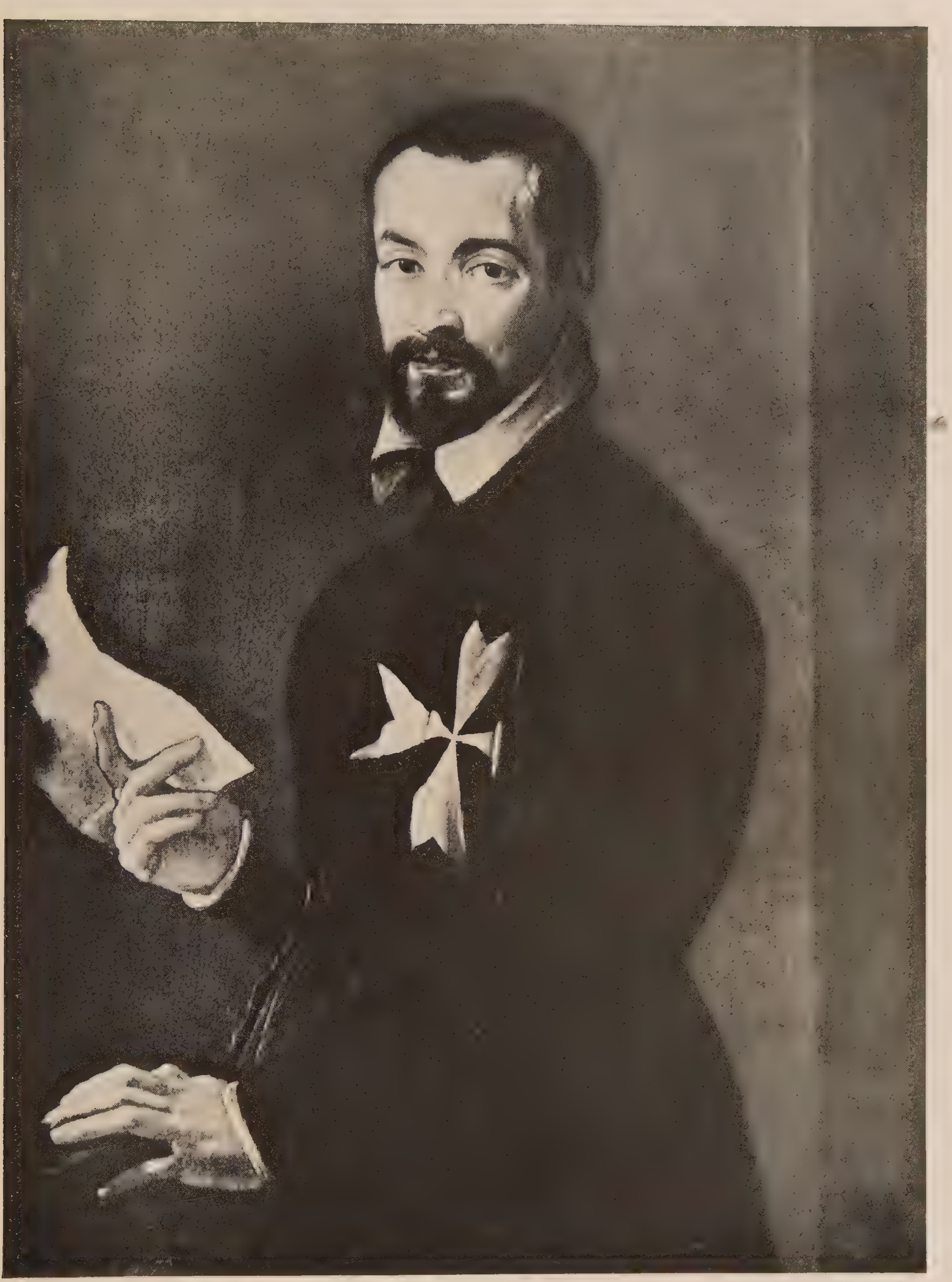

Courtesy of Mr. George Blumenthal

19. Portrait of a Knight of Malta (Cat. 17)

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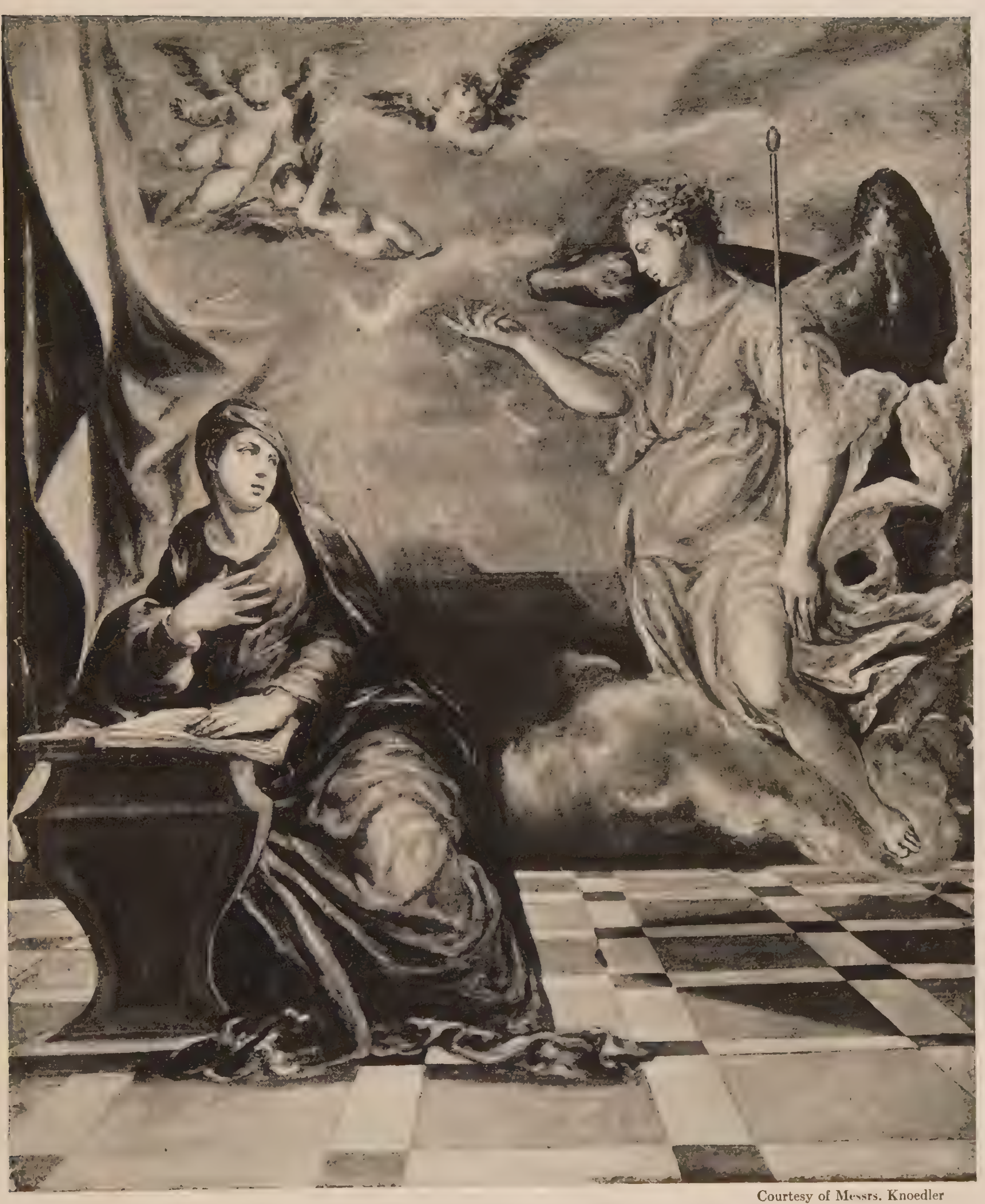

Courtesy of Messrs. Knoedler

20. Annunciation (Cat. 18)

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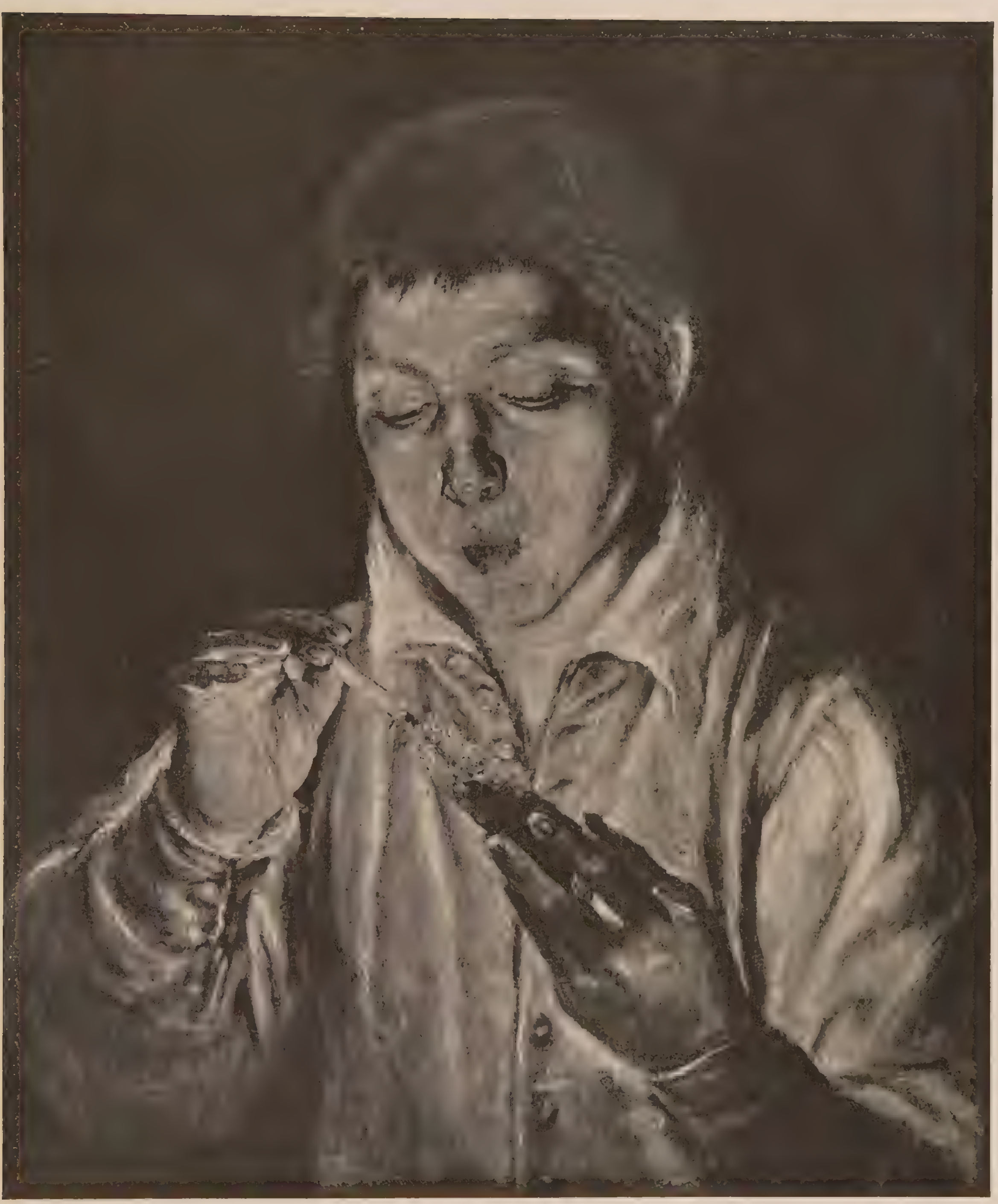

Photo Anderson

21. Boy blowing a Candle (Cat. 19)

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background arch are painted with a lightness and impressionism very close to late Titian and reveal one of the sources of Greco's latest style.

The manifest difficulties encountered in painting the *Purification* convinced Greco of the awkwardness of improvising, and the next few years reveal a search for a method of work which would ensure a satisfactory design without necessitating constant readjustment. After a return to Venetian composition, he finally, about 1582, fell back on the Byzantine training of his early years, and, from the painting of the *S. Maurice* onwards, the problems of composition ceased to worry him.[1]

His first solution renounced all attempt at realizing the third dimension in the background, while retaining all the objects which would naturally be included in a naturalistic representation as a vaguely relevant pattern on a backdrop. The revised version of the *Healing of the Blind Man* at Parma is the illustration. Perhaps the best that can be said of the picture is that it is an improvement on the Dresden example. Greco had noticed certain faults in his first composition and set out to remedy them, but his zeal for certain specific remedies blinded him to new defects. The picture is hardly less of a failure than the other, but it is a new kind of failure. Greco seems to have realized this and never to have finished the picture, as the group on the left contains several imperfectly completed figures.

At Dresden, the Miracle happens in one corner and the surrounding figures do nothing to emphasize it; at Parma, Christ stands in the centre of the picture and the figures at the side are so drawn that all the lines point to the Miracle, but at the cost of making the significance of the several groups rather obscure. The man with raised arm to the left is presumably a paralytic, to whom Christ has restored the use of his limbs, who is demonstrating the Miracle, but this is far from obvious at a glance; while the Pharisees on the right seem rather to be engaged in purely speculative discussion than taking notice of the Miracle.

The date of the Parma picture must be about 1571. The buildings have a definitely Roman cast, and the figures have gained a certain suavity of rhythm: an interest in the modelling of the nude (rather out of place in this composition and absent from the Dresden version) suggests the influence of Michelangelo, to whom Greco professed a certain allegiance by including his portrait in the *Purification* (the addition was possibly made a little after the Parma picture was finished, as the Minneapolis picture betrays no indications of any influence from Michelangelo). The spatial convention is enterprising but unfortunate. It marks, however, the beginning of Greco's departure from a naturalism of intention, which was later to become more apparent. The coloring, now sadly obscured by dirt, must once have been very similar to that in the *Purification*, and the paint has the same rich impasto. In portraits at this time Greco was more successful.

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[1] The childish — and devilish — ingenuity with which Greco achieved the artfully impassioned compositions of his later years is laid bare in most convincing fashion by Mr. Jere Abbott in his book on Greco's methods of composition, now in press.

The *Self-Portrait* with which, so Clovio tells us, Greco first astonished Rome, has disappeared,[1] and the signed likeness of Clovio himself at Naples is the earliest original portrait from his hand preserved to-day. The aged miniaturist is seen pointing to a book containing some of his own illuminations: a window on the right, opening on to a stormy landscape, gives light to the room. It may be debated whether Clovio is standing or seated. The picture is sober, elementary in design, and painted with care and almost painful observation, probably as a token of gratitude to the sitter, in 1571, contemporaneous with the *Purification* at Minneapolis. A comparison of the two works reveals Greco's weakness. When he could envisage the whole plan of his design from the first, nothing prevented his attaining to a successful result by mere hard work, but an ambitious composition, involving concentration both on execution and design, was too much for him: hence it is clear that the eccentricities of his subject-pictures of this date are due, not to willfulness, but to incompetence. The mood of the picture is closer to the portrait-mood of Lotto than to that of any other of the greater Venetians. Mr. Berenson has forever cursed Lotto with the questionable praise of saying that his sitters gaze out at the spectator as if asking for sympathy, and Greco's portraits of this period have the same restless and rather meretricious appeal. The coarse hands, of a soft, fleshy texture, are carefully modelled in a quite distinctive way; the landscape recalls such earlier works as the Zuloaga *S. Francis*, which contains just such little trees blown about by a thunderous wind.

Closest to the *Portrait of Clovio* is the *Portrait of a Knight of Malta* in the collection of Mr. George Blumenthal of New York and Paris. The picture has a similar tightness of facture; the same wistful gaze, the same restless gesture with the hands holding a letter, instead of a book—a trick hardly found in the great Venetians, but common in such a nervous artist as Salviati. Perhaps a little later than the *Clovio*, the picture is better in being less assertive and is designed with a certain simplicity.

At this time Greco was chiefly exercised in his mind over the problem of the background. It would be simple to say that mere incompetence to represent a variety of objects at different distances in correct perspective led him to abandon naturalistic settings, but it would not be charitable, and, in the light of his future development, I do not think it would be accurate. The human mind subconsciously anticipates its own conscious progress. Greco was be-

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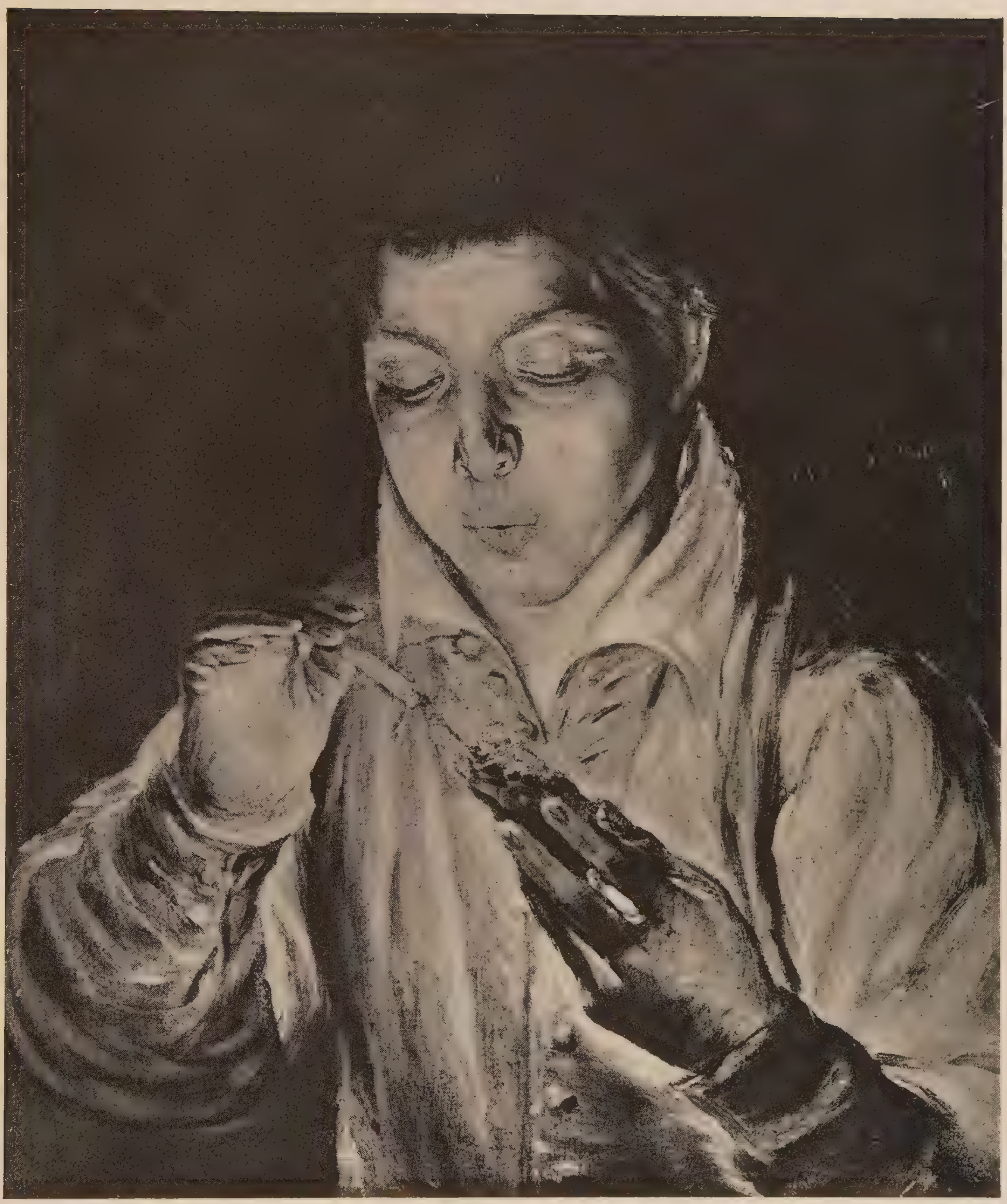
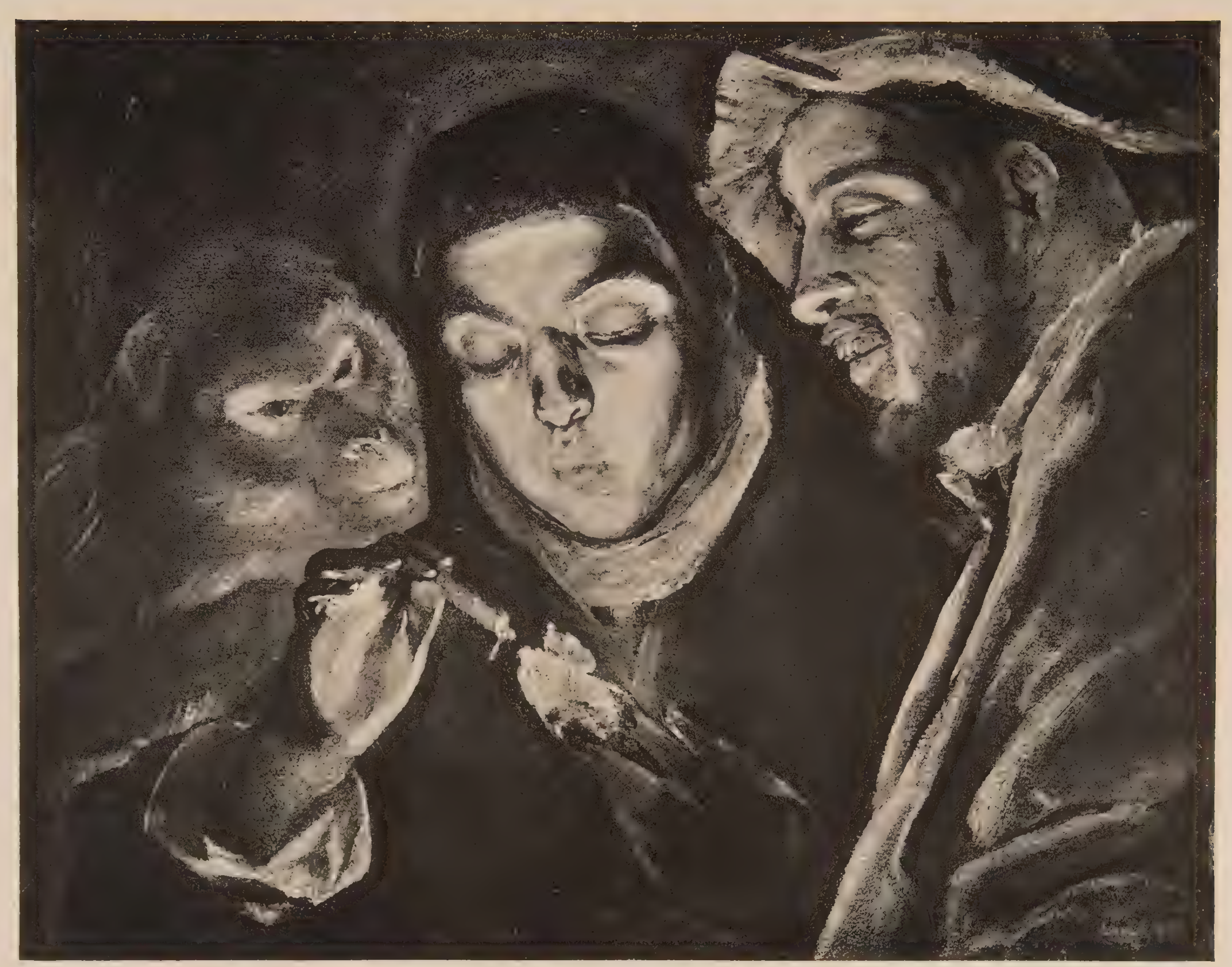
[1] The fine portrait belonging to Dr. Knudtzon of Copenhagen (cf. *Illustreret Tidende*, Oct. 26, 1916, vol. LVIII, p. 47), which has been claimed as Greco's lost self-portrait, is clearly a Tintoretto.



Courtesy of Messrs. Thos. Agnew & Sons

22. Boy blowing a Candle (Cat. 20)



Courtesy of Messrs. Thos Agnew & Sons

23. Illustration to a Proverb (Cat. 21)

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ginning to liberate his mind from its first, slavish attitude toward his teachers, but his reason clung to the humanistic tradition of representation for some years after his instinct had abandoned it. The humanistic Italians emphasized the superior nature of Christ, His Mother, and the Saints by giving them the utmost, human, vitality and setting them amid the most splendid manifestations of the natural and mechanical world: to them the Annunciation takes place in a palace, the Holy Family flies to Egypt through the most beautiful of Italian valleys. To the Eastern Christian mind the beauties of nature and the works of man could glorify only by standing as symbols for a greater splendor, not to be represented by a realistic imagination. Greco's later *Annunciations* [1] take place in some corridor of heaven, and the only relics of the human world they retain are the work-basket — the symbol that the Virgin was a human woman; and the burning-bush — the symbol that she was more than human. His earliest picture of the same theme, already considered, is adorned with all the trappings of Venetian splendor, and the stage between the two is represented by a version, painted in Rome about 1572–74, which admirably illustrates the way in which Greco's mind, during these years, was beginning to awaken to the inheritance of its birth and slough off its self-imposed Italianate attitude.

The pictures which Greco painted at this time are the first which give evidence of artistic maturity or promise of original development on any scale. Bold brushwork succeeds the niggling and derivative style of his earlier years. Yet the *Annunciation* (1929 at Messrs. Knoedler's, New York) clearly does not date very much later than the *Purification* at Minneapolis. The robe over the Virgin's knees is modelled in the same way as the similar passage on the figure kneeling to Christ's right in the earlier picture, and there is the same rich impasto. The design is, in general, the same as in the little picture in the Prado, but the painting no longer betrays a timid and anxious craftsman but approaches nearer to the bravura of a virtuoso. It is still a long way from the soft flashes of color that model, as if with a caress, the figures in the later works, but the painting reveals an artist with ambition and self-confidence. The colors are nearly the same as in the little picture, but no longer give the effect of a number of separate and distinct jewels; they harmonize together and fuse into the surrounding tone with none of the earlier severity of contour. The receding perspective background has disappeared, and its place is taken by an unreal background composed of a brownish-red curtain, Cupidic cherubs, and the half-descried base of a column lost in a haze of pinkish-brown clouds obscuring a blue sky. The hands are softly modelled, with little dents for knuckles, and are very carefully articulated. For ten years or so this type of hand, slightly varied, is characteristic of Greco, and traces of it survive in the carefully painted works of the late ninety's, such as the altarpieces from the S. José Chapel.

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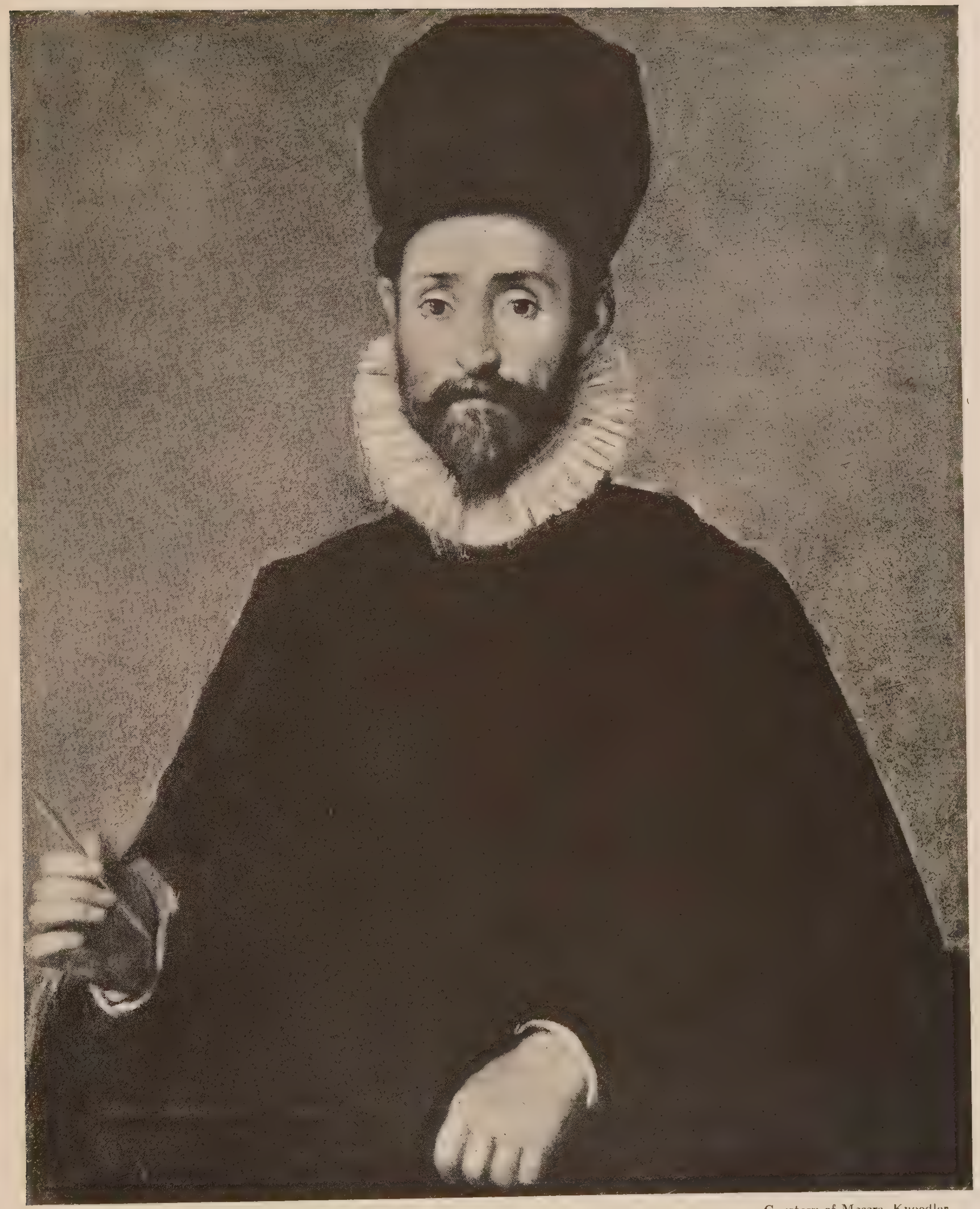
[1] The earliest, and one of the finest of these, painted about 1580–84, belongs to Mr. Ralph S. Coe of Cleveland.

About this time Greco painted the two versions of the *Boy blowing a Candle*: the earlier in the Museum at Naples, a later and signed example of finer quality in the collection of Mrs. Payson in New York. The painting of the sleeves in these, compared with the Virgin's sleeves in the *Annunciation*, reveals how close in date the two must be, as well as do the modelling of the faces and many small particulars. This new manner betrays a startling change of intention. The background has become dark, so that the interest centres on the method of lighting, and there is a return to the instantaneous mood of genre style, as in the *Flight into Egypt*.

These pictures — with the slightly later *Illustration to a Proverb* — painted when Caravaggio was a child of five, yet recalling his manner, have somewhat puzzled the critical mind. At about this same date Bassano uses just such a blaze of light, from a visible central source, to illumine his pictures (cf. the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, Vienna, no. 276), but he was hardly sufficiently ubiquitous to have influenced Greco in Rome! That the motive of a boy blowing embers should later become popular in the Bassano workshop (especially with Francesco; cf. pictures at Venice, the De Young Museum in San Francisco, etc.) is naturally coincident with a community of source, which was surely Correggio. The idea was, in effect, latent in the Venetian tradition. Giorgione first popularized the *Night Piece*, and this aspect of Giorgionism was elaborated by Dosso Dossi, who passed it on to his younger contemporary, Correggio, I do not think it too much to suppose that Greco accompanied Cardinal Farnese on one of his visits to the Farnese residence in Parma, where he found the incentive for this new and quite ephemeral experiment. A vivid remembrance of Correggio remained with him, however, and is found even in such late works as the *Nativity* in the Metropolitan Museum.

The Naples picture is the less interesting design. The figure is placed, rather obviously, in the middle of the canvas and lacks the suggestion of the momentary which its subtle appearance of casualness gives to the New York picture. In condition and quality, too, the latter is so superior to the Naples example that it must certainly be the later and final version. The painting is brilliant, put on with a well-loaded brush, and the modelling singularly plastic. Though a number of warm tones of brown are used and there is a warm priming to much of the picture, the predominant tonality is of a cold yellowish-gray, which brings into relief the coldness of the boy, whose chapt, vermilion lips, with the white flakes of skin peeling off, show that he is blowing the tallow to keep himself warm.

It was Greco's naturalistic interest which led him to paint this *Boy blowing a Candle*, probably a figure seen by chance and realized — after his recent



Courtesy of Messrs. Knoedler

24. Portrait of a Scholar (Cat. 22)

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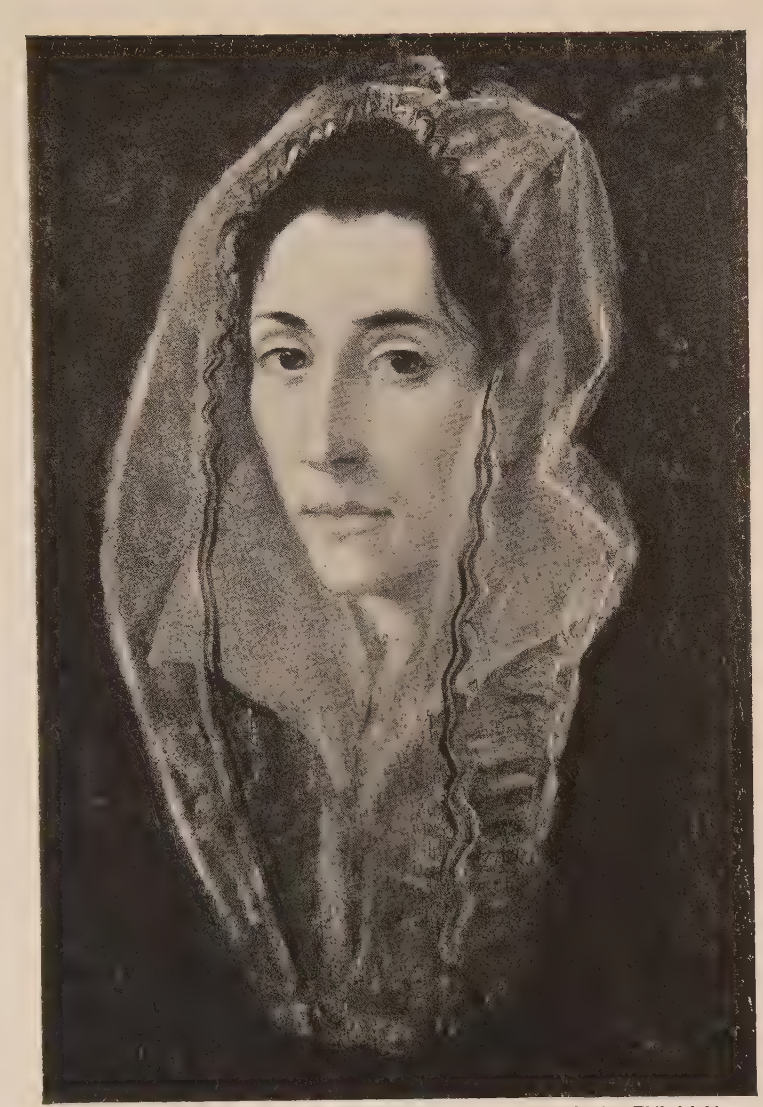
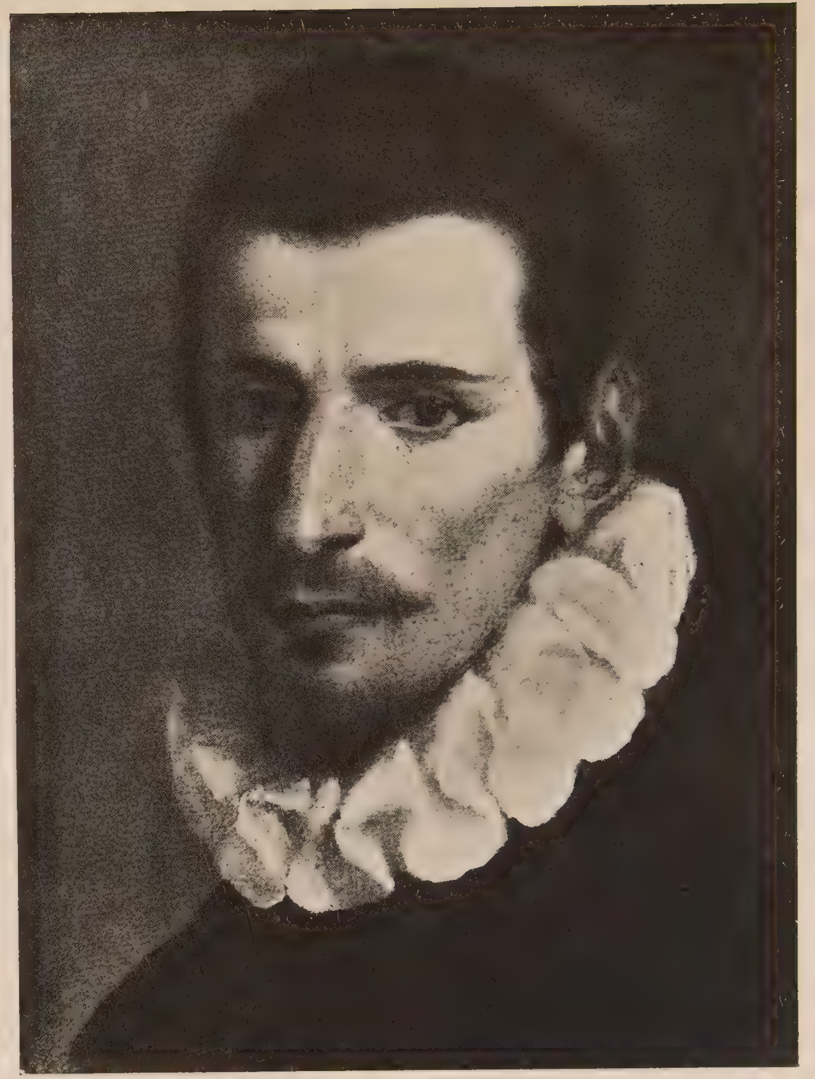
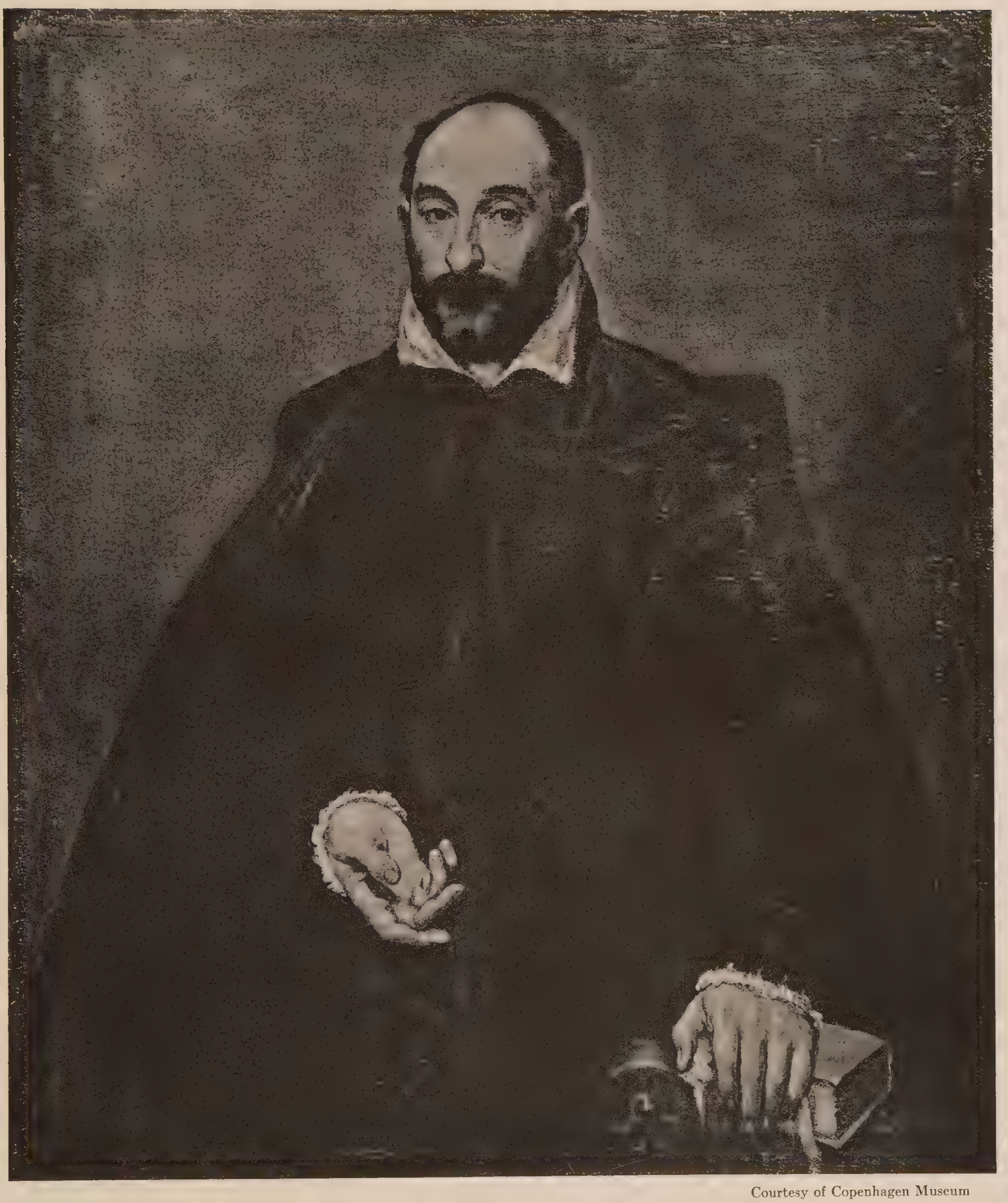


Courtesy of J. G. Johnson Art Collection, Philadelphia

25. Portrait of Doña Gerónima de las Cuevas (?)
(Since cleaning). Ca. 1577
0.39 x 0.269



26. Bust of a Man (Cat. 23)



Courtesy of Copenhagen Museum

27. Portrait of Johannes Baptista Porta (?) (Cat. 24)

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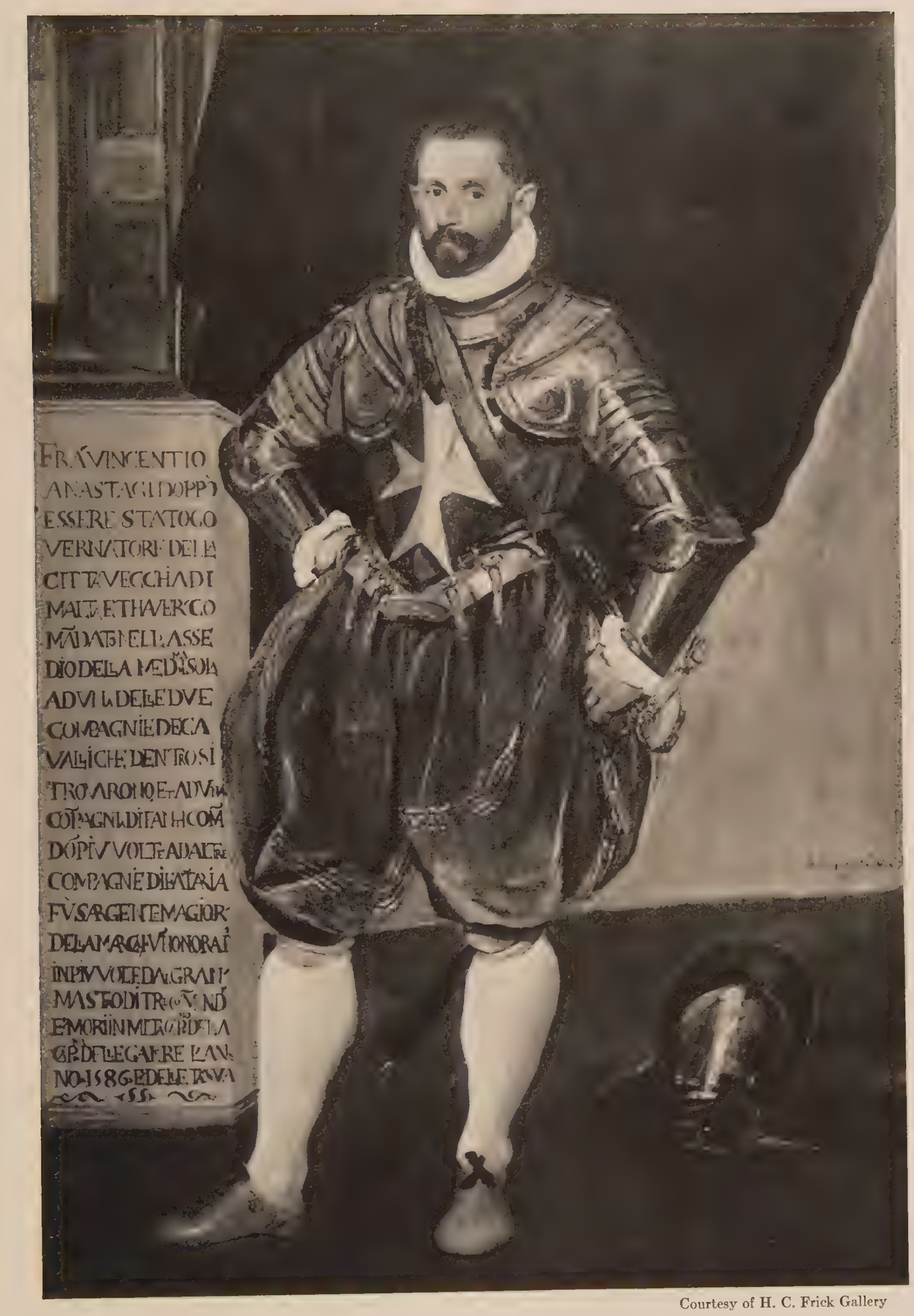
FRA VINCENTIO
ANASTAGI DOPPO
ESSERE STATO GO
VERNATORE DELLA
CITTA VECCHA DI
MALTA ET HAVER CO
MADATO NELL'ASSE
DIO DELLA MEDA ISOLA
AD VNA DELLE DVE
COMPAGNIE DE CA
VALLI CHE DENTRO SI
TROVARONO ET AD VNA
COMPAGNIA DI FANTI ET COM
DO PIV VOLTE AD ALTRE
COMPAGNE DI FANTARIA
FV SARGENTE MAGIOR
DELLA MARCA ET FV HONORAT
IN PIV VOLTE DA GRAN
MASTRO DI TRE CO NO
E MORI IN MEZZO DELLA
GRADELLE GALERE L'AN
NO 1586 E DELLE TA SVA
55

Courtesy of H. C. Frick Gallery

28. Portrait of Fra Vincenzo Anastagi (Cat. 25)

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experience of Correggio — as an excellent subject to illustrate this method of lighting which would so easily relieve him from finding some convention for a backdrop. Greco next searched for a suitable composition subject into which such a study could be incorporated. The resulting design is most conveniently called an *Illustration to a Proverb.* The boy has become a woman blowing a candle, accompanied by a man, who looks on cynically from the right, and a monkey, who assists the flame from the left. The Spanish version runs "Man is fire and woman tow and the devil blows it to flame," and this composition appears to be a rather liberal variation on this theme.[1] The simple color of the sketch from nature has given way here to a rich contrast (the lake of the man's hat and the blue of the woman's dress), intended to relieve the darkness of the picture. The earliest example of this design, a picture painted about 1574–75, is now in a private collection in Wiesbaden and has the same fatty pigment, the same almost overemphatic modelling as the later version of the *Boy*. During the next ten years Greco modified his design once or twice, and this earliest picture seems almost an imperfectly completed sketch, improvised rather than composed. The woman is centrally placed with the mass realized with remarkable solidity, but with little of the particular refinement characteristic of Greco at this time and so visible in the many tones and detailed modelling of Mrs. Payson's picture. Her left hand has little more than its mere position ascertained. The monkey and the man have been added, a little later, as the attempt at a new, more swaggering technique reveals, and their crowded position makes it clear that they had not been planned when the picture was first begun. In the painting of the man can be detected the beginning of a new style of work, which Greco later exaggerated before tempering it to its final perfection. It is a technique of great virtuosity, full of swagger, with the paint laid on swiftly with a large brush. In its most blatant moments — as in the *Assumption* at Chicago — it is without a rival till Manet for sheer effectiveness and virility. Here, however, there is only visible a nervous, and not wholly sure, attempt at this ample brilliance.[2]

At about this date (about 1575) must come the *Portrait of an Author*, once the possession of the Grand Duke of Leuchtenberg and now in New York. The picture is hard to judge as the sunken painting on the dress conceals whatever brilliance of facture it may once have had. The face, however, is relatively intact and provides an interesting parallel to the earlier portraits. The drawing of the eyes is much the same, and the beard is treated as in the Blumenthal portrait. The wistful look is still here, modified somewhat by a look of inward absorption, more characteristic of Greco's Spanish portraits, which may be accounted for if the sitter was a Spaniard. The form of ear, however, is closer to the later pictures, while the refinement of the hands, due, doubtless, in part to their owner, is sufficiently unlike the coarse effectiveness of the portraits at Copenhagen and Frick House to suggest an earlier date. The quality of the technique, an attempt at smartness, which — especially in the collar — looks uncommonly like carelessness, suggests a date close to the *Illustration to a Proverb*, where a similar effort was to be observed. The subject might be Pedro Chacón, the Toledan humanist and friend of Fulvio Orsini, who was living in Rome at this time. In 1575 he would have been a man of fifty with just such light gray hair as this portrait shows. The evidence of engravings makes the suggestion seem not too improbable.

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[1] Mayer (in *Pantheon*, Feb., 1928, p. 94) says Greco's design conforms to a Venetian variant of this proverb, but he does not quote it, and I have not happened to light upon it.

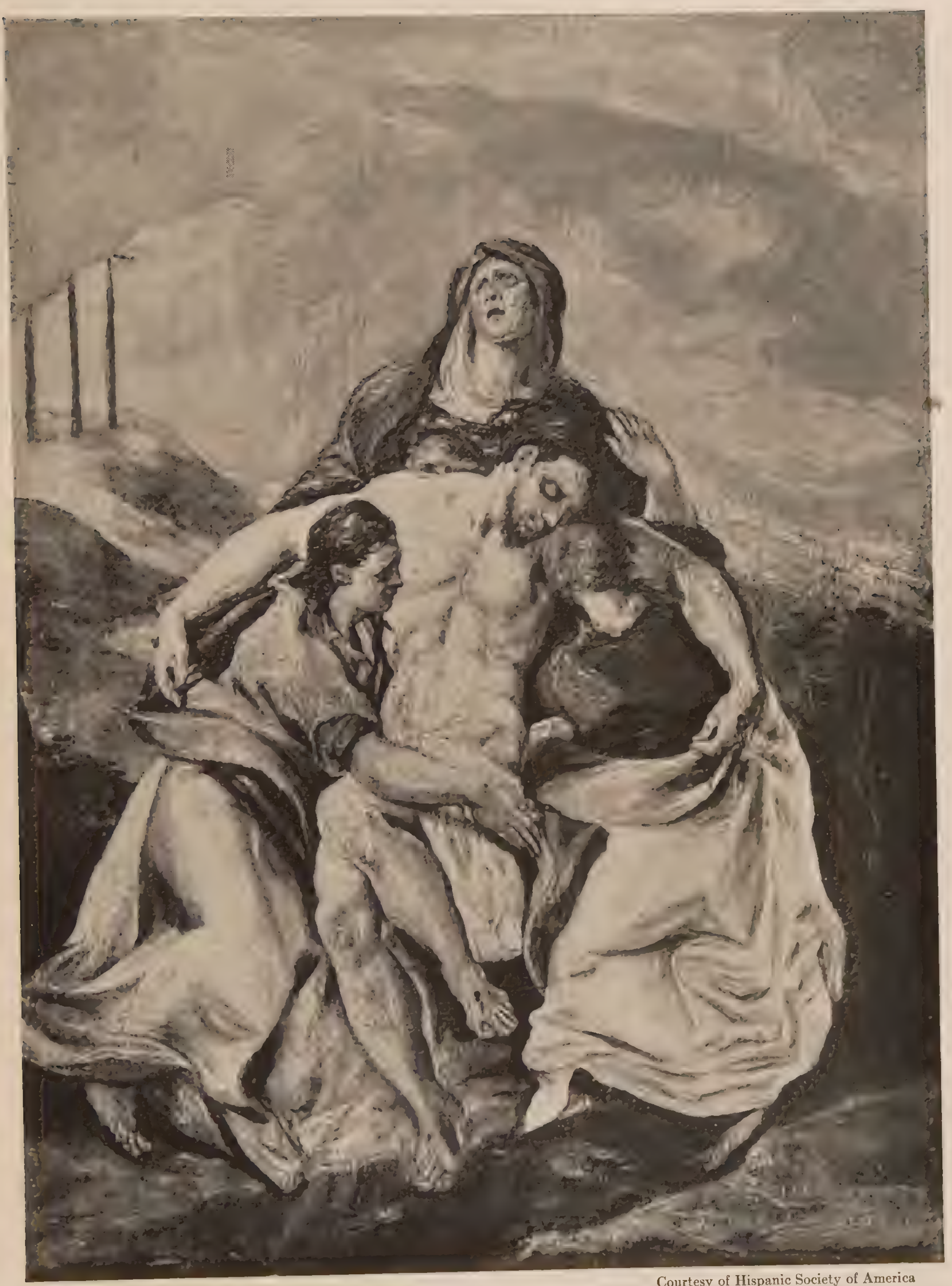
[2] The peculiar modelling of the man's face is paralleled by the face in the *Christ carrying the Cross* (Mayer, no. 59), which, after varied peregrinations on the market, has now — I believe — settled down in a French private collection. It is signed in cursive (which is odd at this date except on a cartel) and is clearly, from the photograph, in the most deplorable condition. If by Greco, it dates from the end of the Roman years, but, without autopsy, I prefer to suspend judgment. A somewhat later version has recently turned up in Madrid.

Greco had not yet arrived at a satisfactory reconcilement between his paint and underpaint, and his experimental gropings in this direction make the dating of this period rather hazardous. Here the sizing appears to be thicker than the overpainting, which, especially in the face, has cracked accordingly. This technique is not characteristic, and, indeed, cannot be paralleled in Greco, but its very experimental quality makes it probable at this date. Greco was looking about for a method of painting which would give him the desired warmth, brilliance, and solidity. Once he arrived at a formula which satisfied him, he was curiously conservative of it, and an unusual experiment in an unrepeated technique is evidence that the picture was painted at least before 1582.

Next Greco possibly painted the *Portrait of a Man* last recorded at the von Beckerath sale at Berlin in 1916. I know this rather intense bust only from the plate in the catalogue of the sale, from which it may be judged that the picture has suffered much and has points of similarity in detail and mood with the Blumenthal and Leuchtenberg portraits.

There remain two other portraits painted before Greco is found in Toledo in the summer of 1577. One is the *Portrait of a Man*, who may be Giovanni Battista Porta, at Copenhagen, and the other that of *Fra Vincenzo Anastagi* in the Frick Gallery in New York. The painting of the hands in a way not hitherto found in Greco dates them close together, and the recurrence of the same hands in some of the Apostles at the foot of the Chicago *Assumption* — and nowhere else — makes it plain that these two portraits were some of the latest works Greco executed in Italy. The Copenhagen picture, being a little less ample in the virtuosity of the brushwork, is the earlier of the two.

It is a fine, Titianesque work, more composed, more self-sufficient than the earlier portraits, and signed in the full, Greek capitals which Greco affected



Courtesy of Hispanic Society of America

29. Pietà (Cat. 26)

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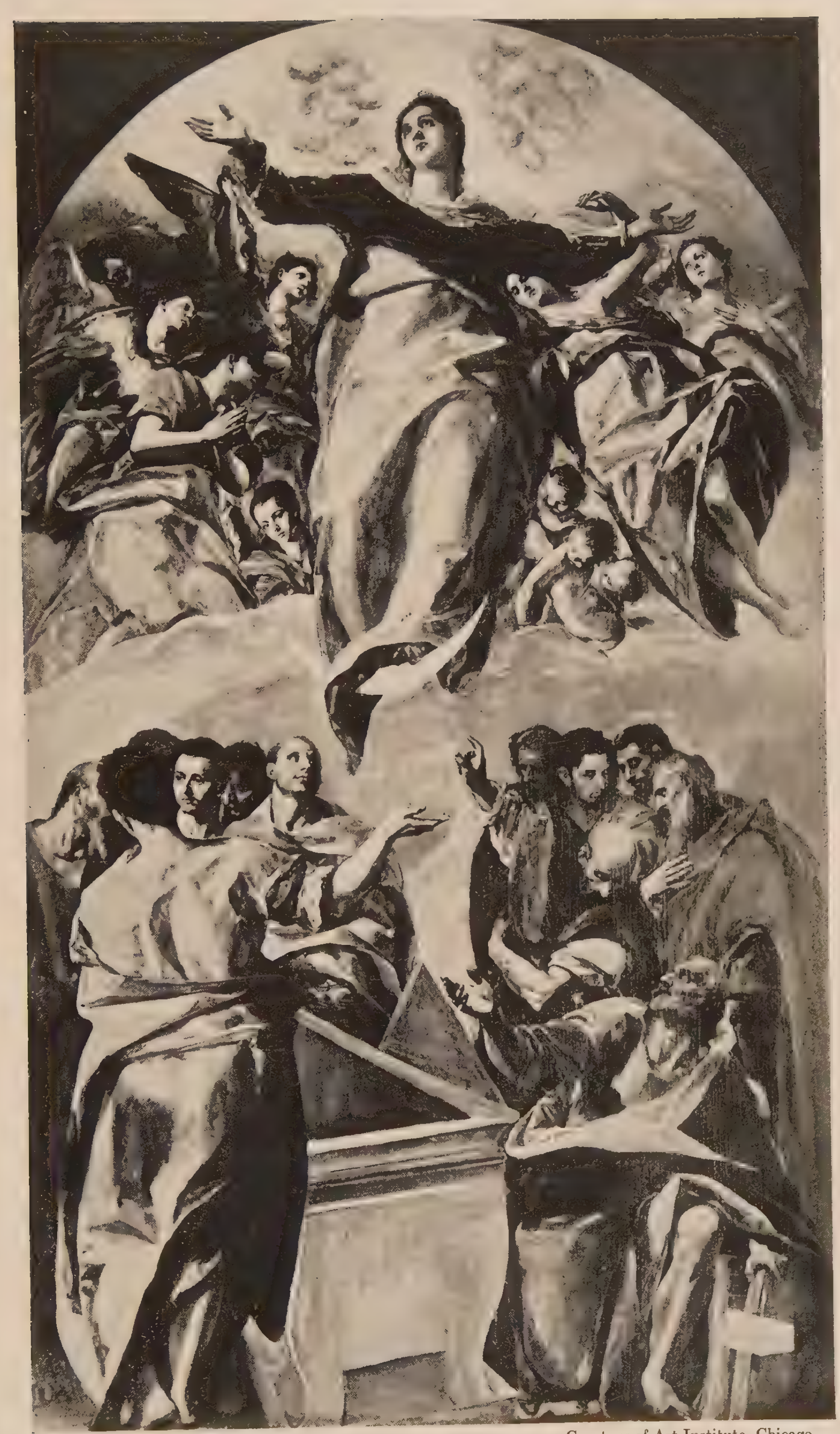


Courtesy of Art Institute, Chicago

30. Assumption of the Virgin
4.01 x 2.286

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA LIBRARY

at this time. The painting has a crude vigor which shows the artist still not complete master of his handling, and glossing over deficiencies by an attempt at virtuosity. It is perhaps the first time that Greco uses flashes of color to vary a mass of dark tone. This trick — especially with flashes of dark blue and red-brown — became characteristic of his later technique.

The *Portrait of Vincenzo Anastagi* has so close an affinity, both technically and in its relation to Venetian prototypes, with the *Assumption* at Chicago that it is perhaps necessary to consider the implications of these two pictures before particularizing their qualities. Already twenty years ago, Zottmann — in a rather mistaken study of Greco's earlier years [1] — casually threw out the suggestion of a return to Venice before the Spanish journey. Such an hypothesis has much to commend it. About 1576–77 Greco's style becomes strangely reminiscent of Titian's earlier period, and it would be hard to see how this could have happened in Rome. The *Portrait of Anastagi* belongs to the Venetian tradition of full-length portraits in armor. It is the direct successor to Titian's portraits of Philip II and to Veronese's *Pasio Guarienti*, while it leads up to such a picture as Caravaggio's *Alof de Wignacourt.* Similarly the *Assumption* is so manifestly derived from Titian's picture of the same theme in the Church of the Frari at Venice that one is compelled to postulate rather more than a recollection of seven or eight years back, however vivid, which had remained with Greco through the most formative years of his life, while he was developing along wholly different lines!

Greco was developing a rhetorical manner at this time. He had had enough of the grandiosity of Raphael and Michelangelo: it was not conformable with his own feelings for emphatic expression. One may surmise that the recollection of the early Titians he had seen unheedingly in Venice, when he was striving to keep up with the Venetian current in his own rather mediocre manner, seemed to promise him a new and more sympathetic way of developing an appropriate style which would not lag behind the fast-increasing rhetoric of his brush. He accordingly went back to Venice and sought the inspiration which he needed. Finding, however, that the style which pleased him would not please Venice (for, to the "progressive" Venetians, it was clearly *démodé*) he bethought himself of Spain.

Fra Vincenzo Anastagi is seen in the costume of a Knight of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem: he wears breeches of a rich green velvet, light gray hose, and pale yellow shoes, and stands assertively against a maroon curtain. The white of the ruff, the Cross of Malta, and the cuffs stand out vividly against the scintillating armor. Pose and technique alike are blustering, tokens of an effective, if somewhat theatrical, rhetoric. As a work of art, the picture is hardly more important than one of Sargent's better portraits, though this

[1] In *Die Christliche Kunst,* vol. III (1906/07), p. 67.

slap-dash brilliance was perhaps more unusual in the sixteenth than in the nineteenth century. It shows that Greco was still far from realizing — as he later did — the possibilities of the portrait as an analysis of temperament or as a presentation of the man rather than of his image. The atmosphere of Italy was antipathetic to his spiritual development, and it was not until he came into contact with the passionate sincerity of Spain's religious mysticism that his own faculties awoke to anything approaching their full power. Mr. Willumsen has collected all the information available about Anastagi in addition to the rather mortuary inscription on the slab at the side, — a later accrement, — but there is nothing to particularize where or when this portrait was painted. It was perhaps the last work El Greco did before leaving Italy, was painted about 1576, and is already in his first "Spanish" manner.

One other picture remains before the series of canvases painted for the high altar of the Church of Sto. Domingo el Antiguo. The small *Pietà* (larger than the similar panel at Philadelphia) in the Hispanic Society's Museum in New York was painted, perhaps in Italy, perhaps in Spain. The color scheme has been greatly simplified, and there is a predominance of yellow, with a patch of pale violet which makes its first appearance here and is used by Greco at intervals during the next five years. The whole effect just misses a tragic intensity, though the group has become more monumental and compact and the heavens play a less distracting part. The rich, fatty impasto can be paralleled only in a few works which Greco produced during his first years at Toledo (the Lázaro *S. Francis*, General Stirling's *Portrait of Pompeo Leoni*, the portraits said to represent *Juan de Avila* in the Museo Greco and in an American private collection Pl. 29), so that the picture is a fitting link between the Italian and the first Spanish manner with which to close this study of El Greco's Italian period.

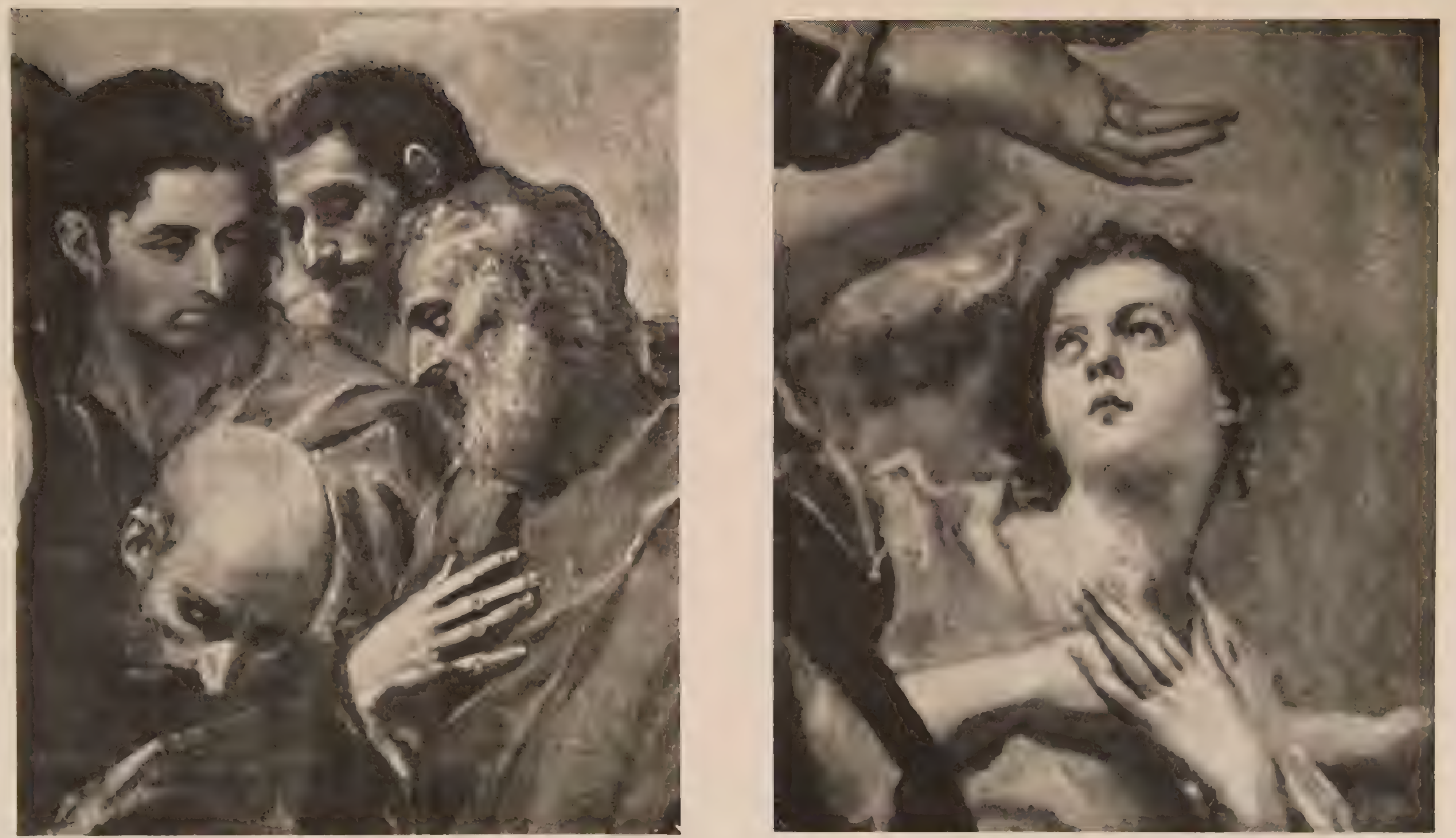
CATALOGUE OF EL GRECO'S ITALIAN PERIOD.

1. *View of Mt. Sinai.* 1563–65. Wood. 0.41 × 0.478.
   Rome. Fulvio Orsini (d. 1600). Inv. no. 39.

   . . . .

   Rome. Conte Alessandro Contini.
   Budapesth. Baron F. Hatvany.
   Published in Mayer, pl. 1.

2. *Pietà.* 1565–66. Wood. 0.291 × 0.203. Signed in capitals.
   Paris. M. P-A. Chéramy. (Meier-Graefe & Klossowski's Cat. 22: Sale Paris, 5–7 May, 1908. no. 78. bght. Fischoff.)
   Philadelphia. John G. Johnson Museum, no. 807.
   Fig. 1. Condition good: companion to no. 3.



Courtesy of Art Institute, Chicago

Courtesy of Art Institute, Chicago

31. Details of Plate XXV

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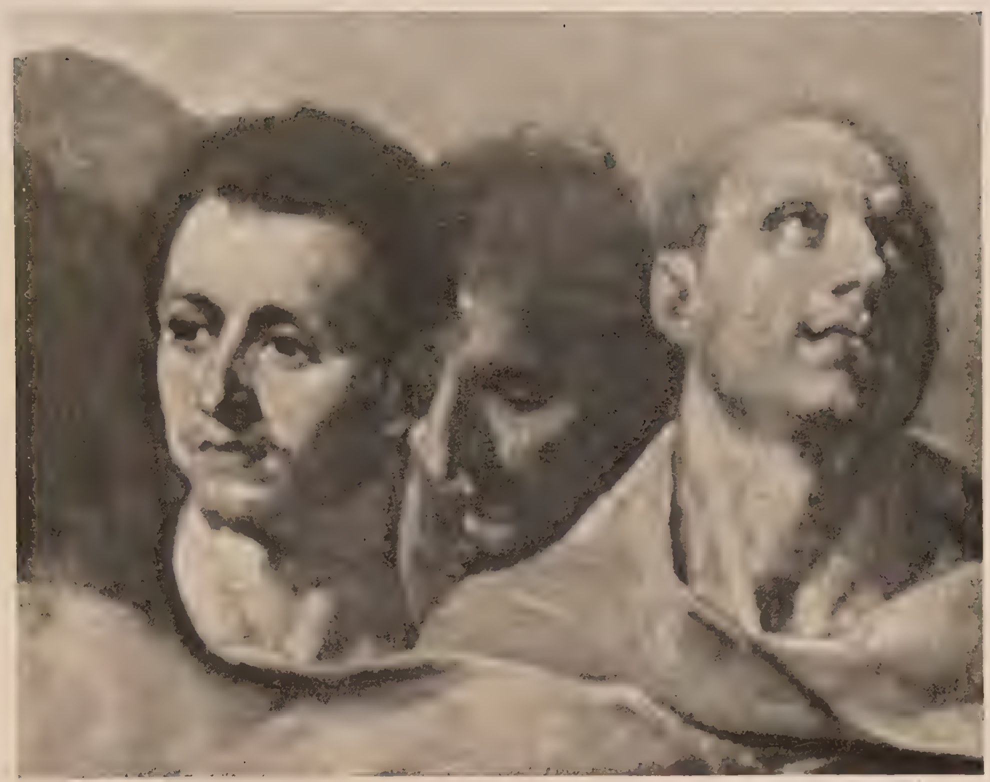
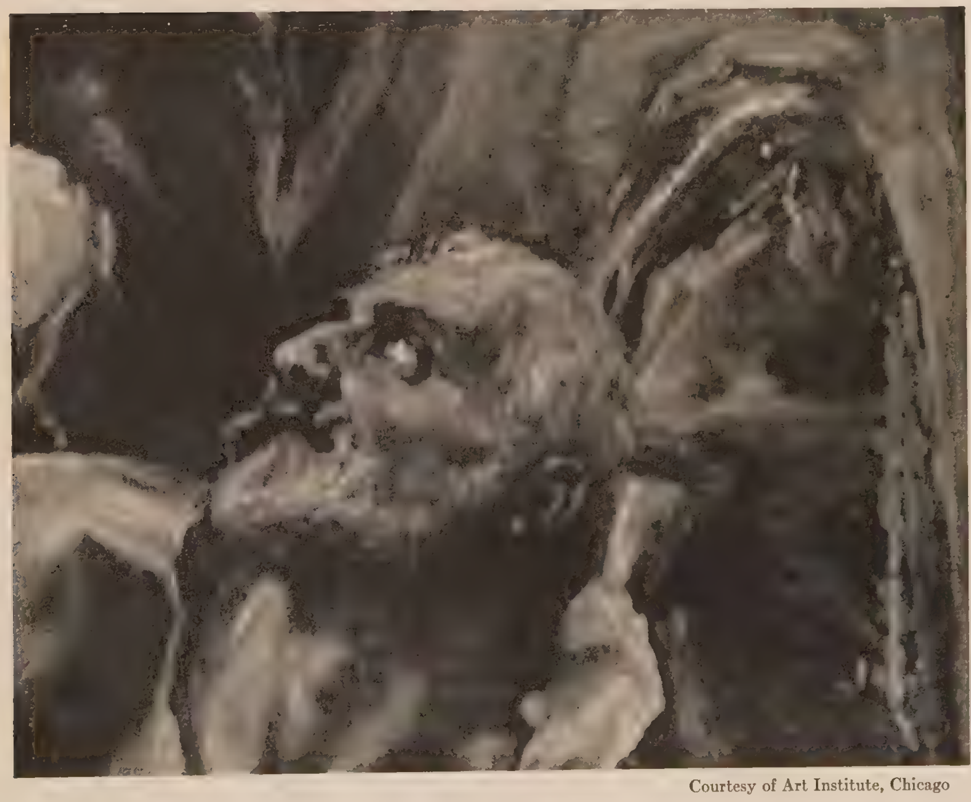


Courtesy of Art Institute, Chicago



Courtesy of Art Institute, Chicago

32. Details of Plate XXV

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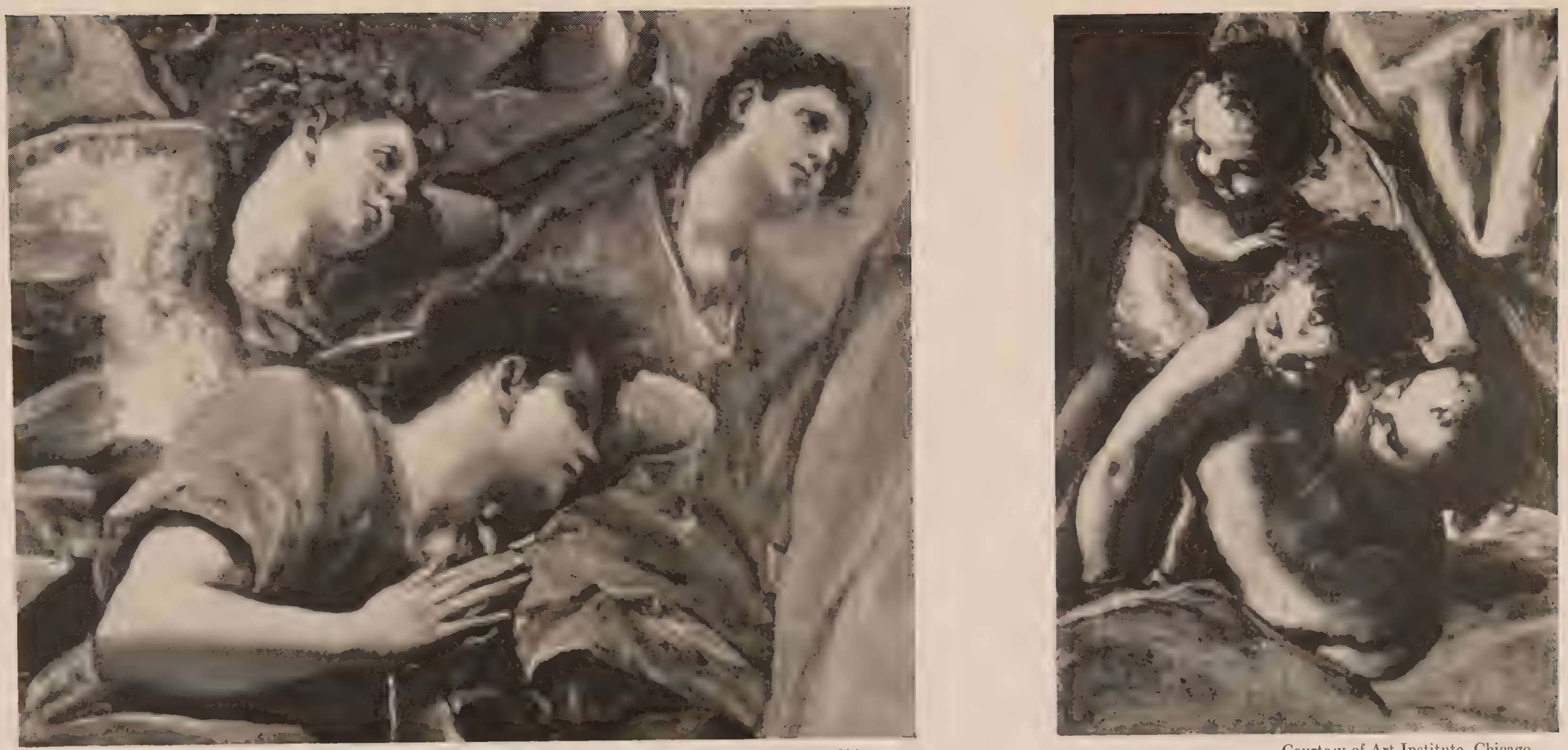

Courtesy of Art Institute, Chicago

Courtesy of Art Institute, Chicago

33. Details of Plate XXV

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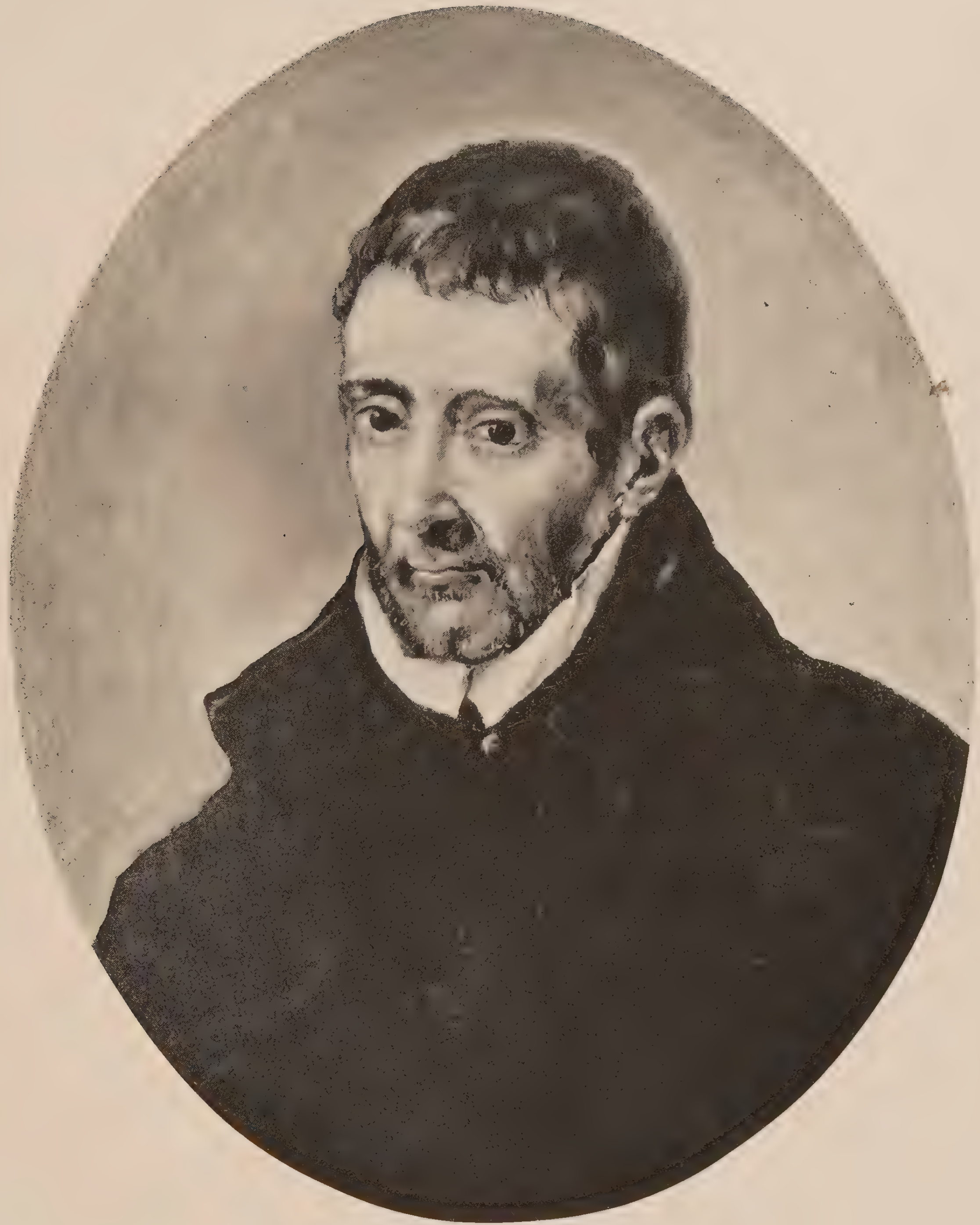

Courtesy of Frick Art Reference Library

34. Portrait of "Juan de Avila." Collection of F. J. Mather, Princeton
18 x 22

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3. *S. Francis on Mt. Alvernia.* 1565–66. Wood. 0.29 × 0.21. Signed in capitals.
Bilbao. (?). Salazar collection.
Bilbao. Sr. Nardiz.
Zumaya (formerly Paris). D. Ignacio Zuloaga. 1927.
Fig. 2. Condition sound: companion to no. 2. The above history of the picture is given in Cossio. Cf. however, *Napoli Nobilissima*, nuova serie, 3 (1923), p. 32, where it is stated that a signed picture of this design was found by Sr. Rocco Pagliara in a junk shop in Naples. He lent it to Sr. Zuloaga, who cleaned it. At Sr. Pagliara's death it was returned to his heirs and adorned, in 1923, the house of the Signorine Antonietta and Adelaide Pagliara at Naples.

4. *Adoration of the Shepherds.* ca. 1567. Wood. 0.63 × 0.76.
Prato. Famiglia Ciardo.
Florence. Dealer.
Copenhagen. Mr. J–F. Willumsen. acq. 1911.
Detail, Fig. 3. First published in *Nordisk tidskrift för vetenskap, konst och industri*, fasc. ii, 1914. Also in Willumsen, 2, 337. From an engraving by Cornelius Cort. after Taddeo Zuccaro of 1567.

5. *Purification of the Temple.* 1567–68. Wood. 0.635 × 0.825. Signed in capitals.
London. Mr. (later Sir) J. C. Robinson. (Sale Paris, 7–8 May, 1868, no. 25.)
Richmond (Surrey). Doughty House. Cook Collection. Catalogue, vol. III, no. 495.
Fig. 4. The pigment has become terribly dry, but the picture is unrestored.

6. *Portrait of Ranuccio Farnese.* 1568–69. Wood. 0.20 × 0.14.
Milan. Dealer.
Berlin. Gallery, no. 339a. (acq. 1880 as Salviati.)
Fig. 7. Copied from Titian: the original is either lost or the terribly ironed picture in the Cook Collection at Richmond. First ascribed to Greco by Mayer in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, vol. XXXII (1921), p. 119. The attribution to Salviati is due to inscriptions on the back of the picture.

7. *Portrait of Pope Paul III (Farnese).* 1568–69. Wood. 0.407 × 0.305.
Rome. Private collection.
New York. Marchese Ugo P. Spinola. 1928–29.
Fig. 6. Published — before cleaning — in *International Studio* (Dec. 1928), p. 80. Considerably retouched in the head and beard, but otherwise in sound condition. The later photograph is slightly out of focus and somewhat misleading.

8. *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary.* 1569–70. Wood. 0.335 × 0.385.
Venice. Italico Brass.
Florence. Villa Pia. Prof. Elia Volpi. (Sale New York, 21–28 Nov. 1916, no. 998.)
New York. Ehrich Galleries: Bourgeois Galleries.
Worcester (Mass.). Art Museum., 1920.
New York. Bourgeois Galleries: Ehrich Galleries.
Munich. Herr Marczell von Nemes; acq. 1928.
Fig. 8. Good condition.

9. *Annunciation.* 1569–70. Wood. 0.265 × 0.195.
Madrid. Doña Concepción Parody. Prado, No. 827 (o. n. 2124a.); acq. 1868.
Fig. 9. In rather damaged condition.

10. *Flight into Egypt.* ca. 1570. Wood. 0.17 × 0.21.
BILBAO. D. Antonio Gorostiza.
NEW YORK. Mrs. Sterner: Agnew, 1929. (Sold in LONDON 1929.)
Fig. 10. Good condition. On the back a coronet is branded with the initials DGH interlaced. The same is found on no. 11.

11. *Espolio.* ca. 1570. Wood. 0.56 × 0.33. Signed in cursive on cartel.
MADRID. Conde-Duque de Olivarez. Probably descended through the Dukes of Alba till ca. 1802, cf. Inventory in Alba Catalogue, 1911, p. 246.

PARIS. Eugène Delacroix. (?)
Baron Schwiter.
M. P-A. Chéramy. (Meier-Graefe & Klossowski's Cat. 21. Sale Paris, 5–7 May, 1908. no. 77. bght. Ducrey.)
Fig. 11. On the back is a coronet and the initials DGH interlaced, as on no. 10. Also inscribed on the back is the following rather unhelpful inscription: "un cuadro de composi/ ción, Boceto concluido/ y pintado para la Duquesa de/ Alba (superscribed)/ del grand cuadro que/ existe en la Sacristia/ de Toledo echo por Domeni/ co Greco."

12. *Espolio.* ca. 1570. Wood. 0.56 × 0.31. Signed in cursive on cartel.
MADRID. Da Maria Cristina de Borbón, Dowager Queen of Spain.
ROME. Principe del Drago.
Conte Contini.
Fig. 12. Published first by Venturi in *L'Arte,* vol. VII, p. 62.

13. *Healing of the Blind Man.* 1570/71. Wood. 0.655 × 0.84.
DRESDEN. Gallery, no. 276. acq. 1741, in Venice, as "Leandro Bassano."
Fig. 13. Almost wholly repainted.

14. *Purification of the Temple.* ca. 1571. 1.168 × 1.470. Signed in capitals.
LONDON. Duke of Buckingham. 1758.
Earl of Yarborough. no. 18. (Manchester, 1857, no. 282, as "Veronese.")
LUCERNE. Steinmeyer.
NEW YORK. Reinhardt Galleries.
MINNEAPOLIS. Institute of Arts. acq. 1920.
Figs. 15, 16, 17. The lakes have faded, and Greco himself added a patch in the lower right corner, but otherwise the condition is quite good.

15. *Healing of the Blind Man.* 1571/72. 0.50 × 0.61. Signed in capitals.
PARMA. Palazzo del Giardino. 17/18th cents. as "Veronese."
Mario Inzani.
Royal Gallery, no. 201. acq. 1862.
Fig. 14. Very dirty but without serious damage.

16. *Portrait of Don Giulio Clovio.* ca. 1571. 0.58 × 0.86. Signed in capitals.
ROME. Fulvio Orsini (d. 1600).
Palazzo Farnese (sent to Parma 1662.)
PARMA. Palazzo del Giardino.
NAPLES. Capodimonte: Pinacoteca, no. 98.
Fig. 18. Dirty, but in sound condition.

17. *Portrait of a Knight of Malta.* ca. 1572. 0.828 × 0.647.
New York & Paris. Mr. George Blumenthal. (Cat., 1928 vol. I, pl. liii.)
Fig. 19. First published by F. Mason Perkins in *Rassegna d'Arte* (1914), p. 83.

18. *Annunciation.* 1572–74. 1.174 × 0.98.
Barcelona. Dealer (?)
London. Sulley. 1927.
Paris. Trotti. 1928.
New York. Knoedler. 1929.
Fig. 20. First published by L. Venturi in *L'Arte*, vol. XXX (1927), pp. 252 ff. Good condition. There may be traces of a signature in capitals along the top of the prie-dieu.

19. *Boy blowing a Candle.* 1572/73. 0.59 × 0.505.
Rome. Palazzo Farnese (sent to Parma 1662.)
Parma. Palazzo del Giardino.
Naples. Capodimonte (taken by the French and recovered in Rome).
Galleria di Francavilla. 1802.
Pinacoteca, no. 99.
Fig. 21. Dirty and worn. It was formerly attributed to Clovio and to Honthorst.

20. *Boy blowing a Candle.* 1573/74. 0.61 × 0.508. Signed in capitals.
Germany. Private collection.
Vienna–Paris. Dr. A. C. von Frey.
Munich. Caspari.
New York. Fearon – Agnew – Mrs. Sterner.
Mrs. Charles S. Payson. acq. 1928.
Fig. 22. Very good condition. This is not the version of this subject formerly in the Manfrini Palace, as that measured 0.35 × 0.48 apparently. This latter might be Mayer, no. 310a, which, from the poor cut, hardly looks like a Greco.

21. *Illustration to a Proverb.* ca. 1574. 0.502 × 0.635.
London. Anonymous sale at Messrs. Robinson, Fisher & Harding, 10. March, 1927, bght. West.
Agnew – Colnaghi.
Wiesbaden. Private collection. 1928.
Fig. 23. Published *Pantheon*, Feb. 1928, p. 95. It has suffered somewhat and may have been slightly cut down.

22. *Portrait of a Scholar.* 1572–75. 0.92 × 0.743.
S. Petersburg. Grand Duke of Leuchtenberg.
Rome. Dealer, 1913.
New York & London. Knoedler (1929).
Fig. 24. Perhaps a portrait of Pedro Chacón. Published by Mayer in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, vol. XXXII (1921), p. 120. The paint has sunk a great deal, and the condition is not good.

23. *Bust of a Man.* 1573–75. 0.36 × 0.28.
Berlin. Herr Adolph von Beckerath. (Sale, 23–26 May, 1916, no. 341.)
Fig. 26. It is reproduced as plate 55 in the Sale Catalogue and has also been published by Walter Bombe in *Der Cicerone* (1916), p. 184. From the reproduction it looks a ruined but possibly genuine piece.

24. *Portrait of Johannes Baptista Porta?* 1575/76. 1.14 × 0.95. Signed in capitals.
ANTWERP(?). Perhaps in Rubens Sale, May, 1641 (no. 14) as "Selfportrait" by Tintoret.
PARIS. Michel, Comte de Vence. (Sale, 11 Feb. 1761, as "Tintoretto.")
COPENHAGEN. Castle of Christianborg. acq. 1763. Royal Gallery, no. 345.
Fig. 27. The identification as Porta is uncertain; it was put forward by Sigurd Wandel in *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, vol. III (1917), pp. 80–82. It has been engraved by A. de Marcenay as Tintoretto by himself. Condition somewhat worn.

25. *Portrait of Fra Vincenzo Anastagi.* ca. 1576. 1.88 × 1.262. Signed in capitals.
From Rome.
BRIGHTON. William Conyngham. (Sale, Christie's 9 June, 1849 no. 51. bght. Farrer.)
STOKE. Lord Taunton (formerly Mr. Labouchère.)
NEW YORK & LONDON. Knoedler.
NEW YORK. Frick House. Henry Clay Frick Gallery.
Fig. 28. Good condition. I take it that this is the picture referred to in a letter from Mignaty *apud* Justi, *Miscellaneen*, 1908, vol. II, p. 206, n.

26. *Pietà.* ca. 1576–77. 0.66 × 0.48.
MADRID. D. Luis Navas.
PARIS. MM. Trotti & Cie. 1908.
NEW YORK. Archer M. Huntington.
Hispanic Society's Museum. A. 69.
Fig. 29. Sound condition.

NOTE. I have included among the plates the *Portrait of a Lady* in the J. G. Johnson Collection at Philadelphia, which has not been reproduced since a judicious cleaning, in the fall of 1927, restored to it the freshness and proportions which Greco originally intended. This and General Stirling's first study for the *Dream of Philip II* are the only pictures on panel El Greco painted in Spain. A number of details are also included of the Chicago *Assumption* which show—more clearly than any text—Greco's very substantial debt to Correggio. The interesting oval version of *Juan de Avila* has never been published before, and I am indebted to Mrs. Sterner for a photograph. It comes from the Bayo Collection at Bilbao and has now joined the remarkable collection of Grecos in the private homes of America, being in Mr. Mather's collection at Princeton.

TURKISH ARCHITECTURE IN SOUTHWESTERN ANATOLIA

Part I

TO

KIAZIM PASHA

VALI OF ISMIR · PATRONO ARTIUM

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

UNIV OF

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TURKISH ARCHITECTURE IN SOUTHWESTERN ANATOLIA

A PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT OF AN EXPEDITION TO SMYRNA, MANISSA, BIRGEH, TIREH, AIDIN, ANTALIA, AND ALAYA

PART I

By RUDOLF M. RIEFSTAHL

FOREWORD

THE present preliminary account [1] summarizes the results of an expedition into Southwestern Anatolia, undertaken in connection with a series of lectures on Turkish art given at the International College in Smyrna, which duplicated more or less a series of lectures on the same subject delivered at Robert College, Constantinople.

I used Smyrna as a base and made three trips from there: one to Manissa, the second to Aidin, Antalia, and Alaya, the third to Birgeh and Tireh. I have not visited the monuments of Ephesus (Ayasoluk, now called Seljuk), since the Islamic monuments of that city have been dealt with by the Austrian publication on Ephesus. Nor have I visited Balat (Miletus), since its famous mosque has been thoroughly studied and surveyed by the German scholars engaged in the excavations there. Except for a short notice, their record has not yet been published; but it is superfluous to duplicate or to anticipate the slowly maturing work of others. I have not yet studied the Islamic monuments of Bergama (Pergamon) nor those of Mughla and Melas, leaving them for another year's work.[1] However, I do not think that, with the exception of the buildings mentioned, many important buildings in Southwestern Anatolia have been overlooked.

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[1] I wish to thank for encouragement and courteous assistance His Excellency Ahmed Mukhtar Bey, ambassador of the Turkish Republic to the United States, His Excellency Shukri Kaya Bey, minister of the Interior of the Republic of Turkey, and His Excellency Nedjati Bey, the late Minister of Public Instruction of the Turkish Republic, who by special letters of recommendation furthered my research. Others to whom I am indebted are His Excellency Kiazim Pasha, Governor of the vilayet of Smyrna, and His Excellency Ishak Bey, Governor of the Vilayet of Antalia, who took the kindest personal interest in my endeavors; His Excellency Hamdullah Emin Pasha, former representative of Alaya in the Turkish Chamber of Deputies; Halil Edhem Bey, Director General of the Turkish Museums; Aziz Bey, Inspector General of Antiquities of the District of Smyrna; Fuad Bey, Director of Public Instruction of the District of Smyrna; Hikmet Bey, Director of the Normal School of Smyrna; Suleiman Fikri Bey, Director of the Museum of Antalia; Ahmed Bey, Mudir of the Evkav of the vilayet of Aidin; the Mufti of the city of Tireh; the Hodjas of Muradieh Djami in Manissa, of the Ulu Djami in Birgeh, and of Ulu Djami in Manissa; the Mudir of the Evkav in Tireh; Halil Nedjmeddin Bey, head of the Turkish Department of International College; and my friends Nevzat Bey of Smyrna College, and Hafiz Kemal Bey and Essad Fuad Bey both of Stambul.

Without the assistance and advice of the above-named and many other Turkish friends I should not have been able to carry out my project, and I hope that they will be pleased to have helped in this study of the art of their nation.

I also enjoyed the kind assistance of the authorities of the Near East Colleges, namely Dr. Caleb Gates, president, and George H. Huntington, vice-president, of Robert College, and Lee Vrooman, acting president of Smyrna International College. Both of these American institutions have taken an active interest in furthering the study of Turkish art among their students and have helped me in many ways.

Last, but not least, I wish to acknowledge the interest of the United States Customs authorities who levied an entrance duty on the photographs which I made with great personal sacrifices for the sake of furthering science and research in the United States.

I also wish to thank my friend Meyer Schapiro for valuable help and advice.

The present preliminary account aims to be a record of monuments, detailed work on which should be undertaken at a later date; it aims, in other words, to show the archaeological possibilities in the cities of Southwestern Anatolia. The buildings have been paced off but not measured, and in many details the sketch diagrams will have to be corrected upon close investigation.

In order to make this point clear, every plan which is not in exact scale has been marked "sketch diagram" (these diagrams are available to others for reproduction on condition that the reproduction be marked "sketch diagram"). Such a sketch, however, emphasizes the essential features of a building so much more clearly than a long description that I have felt justified in this mode of procedure.

As to inscriptions, as many photographic records have been made as limited time permitted. In many cases the kindness of Turkish scholars or hodjas provided me with copies of inscriptions which I was unable to photograph but which seemed important. This epigraphic material contains many numbers hitherto unpublished, and in many other cases completes or emends material already known. My friend Dr. Paul Wittek, of the German Library in Stambul, was kind enough to undertake the publication of my epigraphic material, which forms the second part of the present publication. I wish to thank him for his kind help and for the thoroughness with which he has handled his share of the work.

This publication is devoted to the study of Turkish art. However, when Byzantine material was encountered which seemed worth while, I tried to record it as faithfully as possible, without any pretense at completeness or competent criticism.

The photographs of this publication are all my own, with the exception of Figs. 75 and 208, which I owe to the kindness of Suleiman Fikri Bey, Director of the Museum of Antalia. Contact prints or enlargements of my negatives published in this paper will be supplied at cost, and may be reproduced with proper acknowledgment. I shall be glad if this contribution will increase the interest in Turkish art.

Concerning the monuments of Turkish architecture, I have tried first to give a short description pointing out their main characteristics. Second, an attempt has been made to indicate the significance of each work within the evolution of Turkish art. I think that, combined with the photographs, these descriptions will afford a fairly clear picture of what has been preserved and will indicate the lines on which future detailed research should be conducted.

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[1] Mughla, Melas, and Paichin were the object of an expedition undertaken in the summer of 1929, the account of which is in preparation.

The selection of monuments is catholic, giving as much importance to a monument — mosque or private dwelling — of the eighteenth century as to a Seljuk monument, provided the monument studied seemed to express an original thought. In many cases the bad or indifferent has been noted as such in order to save the time of future investigators. Often I have recorded information obtained by hearsay about monuments that I was not able to visit for lack of time, but the number of unvisited monuments is, I think, not large.

Particular stress has been laid on the study of decorative features, objects of art, and manuscripts. Woodwork, rugs, and ceramic decorations in mosques, as well as elsewhere, have been carefully noted. As far as possible I inquired for manuscripts and took a record if the manuscript was of interest. Extant libraries have been visited or at least recorded, and in the museums note has been made of the objects of art and manuscripts that seemed of interest for the history of Turkish art.

It will be noted that the spelling of localities differs in my part of the text and in Dr. Wittek's contribution. I do not think that the student of the history of art is particularly interested in the phonetic rendering of names with which he is generally acquainted through a traditional spelling. This traditional spelling has been preserved in my text, while on the other hand I have scrupulously respected Dr. Wittek's, which is the logical rendering in a publication that will be consulted mainly by historians and Orientalists.

I. Manissa [1]

The city of Manissa is easily reached from Smyrna by the French railroad which divides at Manissa into the Cassaba–Afiun Karahissar line running eastward and the Bergama–Panderma line running northward. Manissa can also be reached by automobile on a good highway via Burnabad, crossing the mountains through a picturesque ravine with blossoming oleanders, leaving the Sipylus mountain to the East, the Jamanlar Dagh to the West. The automobile ride takes about one hour and a half or two hours.

Manissa was the capital of the Emirate of the Sarukhan Oglu (700–792 A.H.), a small Turkish state which gained importance as a maritime power. It was incorporated into the Ottoman empire by Bayazid I in 792 A.H., freed itself after Bayazid's disaster in 805 A.H., and again became part of the Ottoman domain at the end of the interregnum after 813.[1] Under Ottoman rule Manissa was important, as it was frequently the residence assigned to the Ottoman prince destined to be the successor of the reigning Sultan. It was the favorite place of residence of Murad II, who retired there after his abdication, in 1444 A.D., and it enjoyed also the favor of Murad III.[2]

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[1] Additional material on Manissa, secured during my expedition of the summer of 1929, has been worked into the present study. The exact plan of Ulu Djami and the sketch plan of Muradieh were drawn by my assistant, Mr. Martin Charles of Princeton University, to whom I wish to express my thanks.

Manissa (for plan see Fig 1; for view, Fig. 2) is situated in the plain of the Hermus river, now called Gediz Tchai, which empties into the Gulf of Smyrna. This plain is one of the richest agricultural districts of Anatolia. The city itself is not situated in the plain, but like many Seljuk cities lies on the slope of the mountain, securing thus ample and clean water supply from the mountain springs and at the same time protecting itself against inundations or fever caused by the water of the river. Manissa lies on the north slope of Mount Sipylus, or Nif Dagh. Above the city rises a promontory which still shows the traces of walls and towers of a Kaleh, and gradually melts into the higher ranges of the Sipylus.

The city itself suffered considerably at the hands of the retreating Greeks in 1922. Almost all the private houses, lightly built of timber frame and mud brick, have been burned down, but the mosques and other public edifices, which were more solidly built, escaped destruction almost entirely.

The city is roughly divided into a northern (hill) and southern (plain) section by the highway which runs from west to east. Hammer mentions the remnants of an old palace which I have not been able to locate, although remnants of the Kaleh are visible. I found only two buildings going back to the period of the Sarukhan Oglu. The first was a rather inconspicuous turbeh (tomb) called "Sarukhan turbeh," showing a dome on square plan, covered with red tiles, which is ascribed to this period. This building (Fig. 2 *b*) has no inscription, either over the door or on the cenotaphs, which corroborates the popular ascription to the dynasty of the Sarukhan Oglu. The walls, now plastered, are built of courses of roughly dressed stones. The entrance consists of a recessed bay covered by a very slightly pointed arch and protecting the door and two windows on either side. I was not able to enter this building and to examine its contents. In the precinct of this turbeh is a tomb which is called the "tomb of the bad judge" (no. 8 of the sketch plan). Walking further uphill from the Sarukhan turbeh, one reaches the Ulu Djami or Great Mosque, which was constructed by Ishak Tchelebi of the house of Sarukhan in 778 A.H. The adjoining medresseh was constructed in 780 (see inscriptions nos. 29 and 30).

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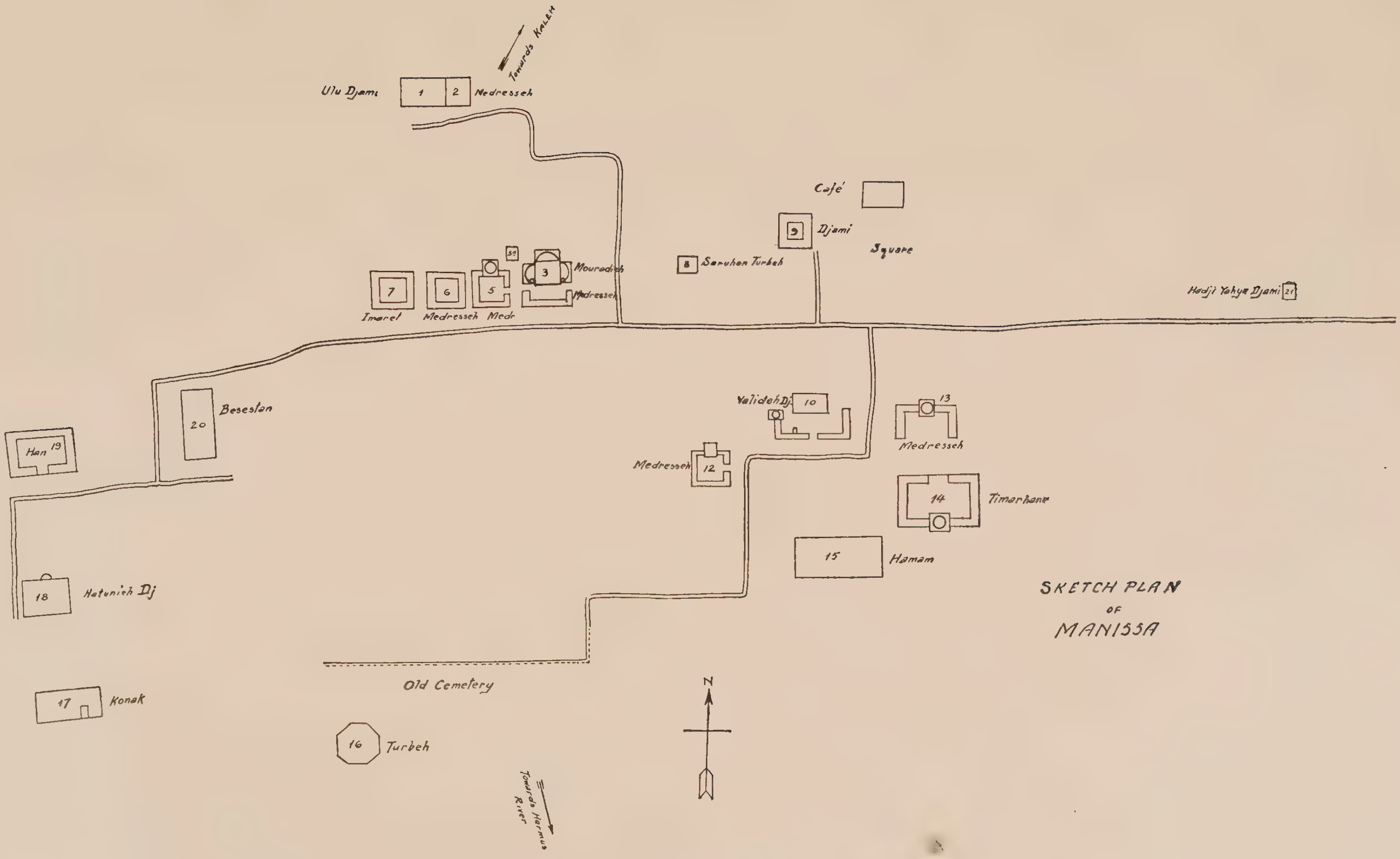
[1] These dates are taken from de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie* (Hanover, 1927), p. 150.

[2] J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches,* I, pp. 458, 464, 465.


Towards Kaleh
Ulu Djami
1
2
Medresseh
Café
9
Djami
Square
Mouradieh
3
5a
Medresseh
8
Seruhan Turbeh
Hadji Yahya Djami
21
7
6
5
Imaret
Medresseh
Medr
Validieh Dj
10
13
Medresseh
20
Besestan
Han
19
Medresseh
12
14
Timarhane
15
Hamam
SKETCH PLAN
OF
MANISSA
18
Hatunieh Dj
Old Cemetery
17
Konak
N
16
Turbeh
Towards Hermus River

1. Manissa: sketch plan of City

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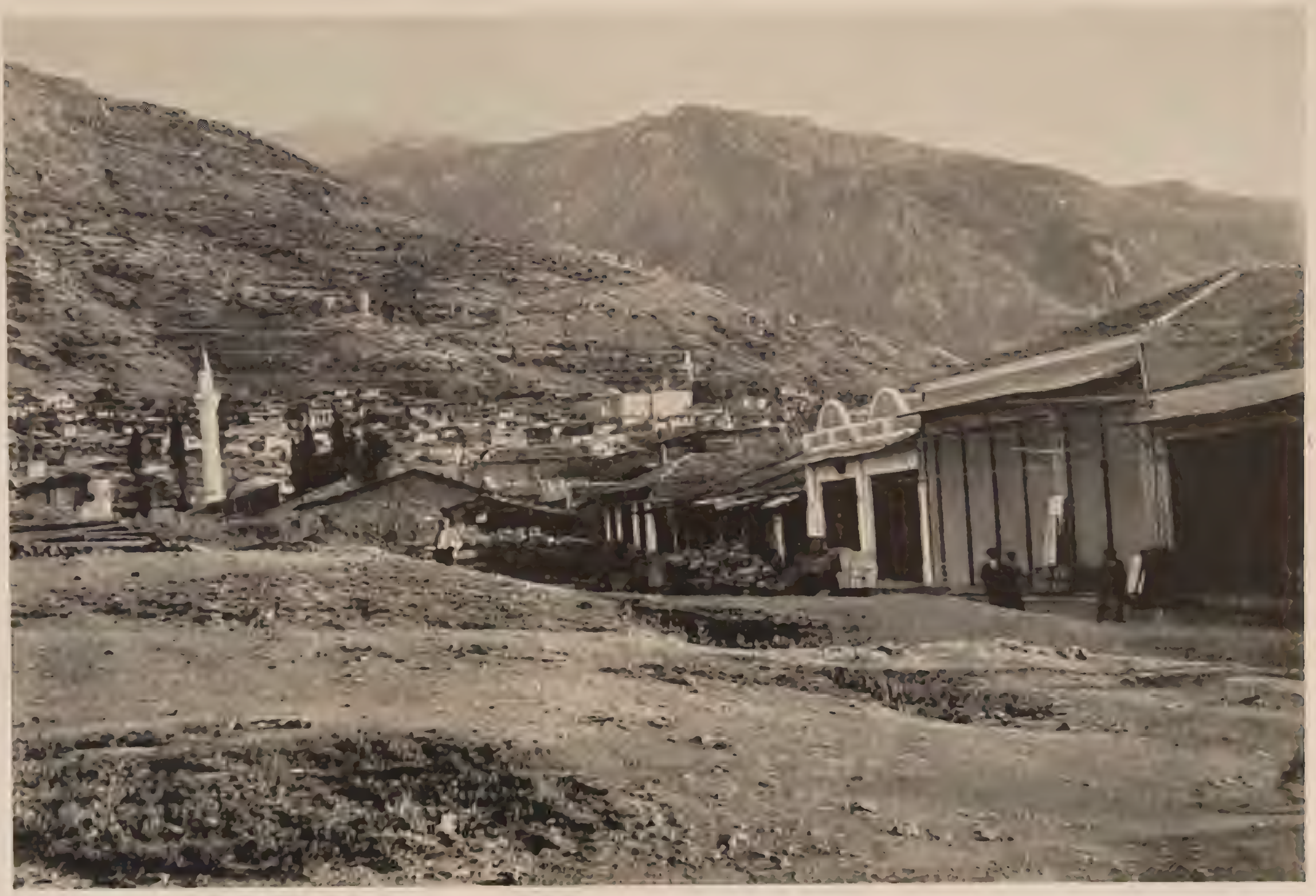

2. Manissa, general view: Ulu Djami on hill to right

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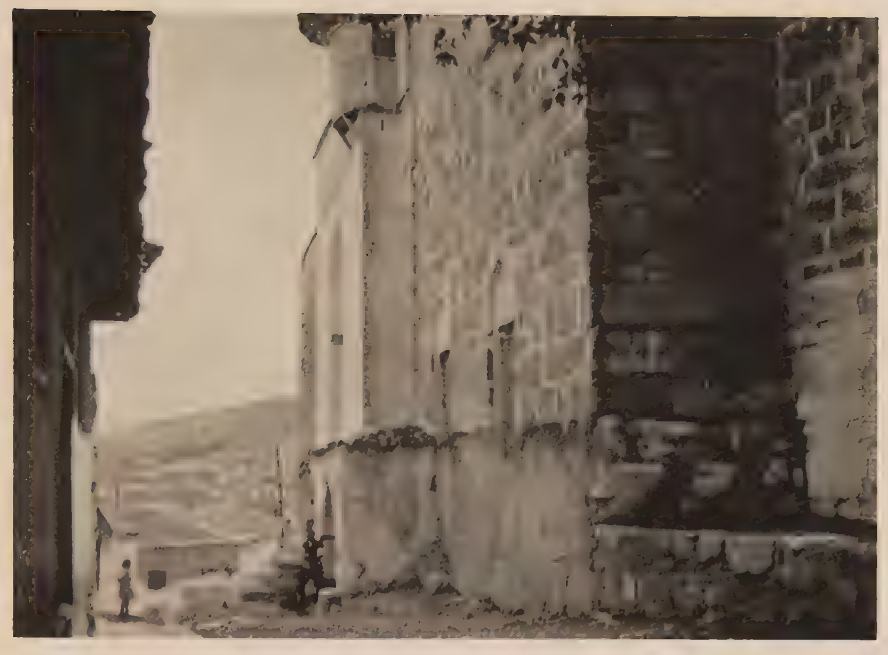
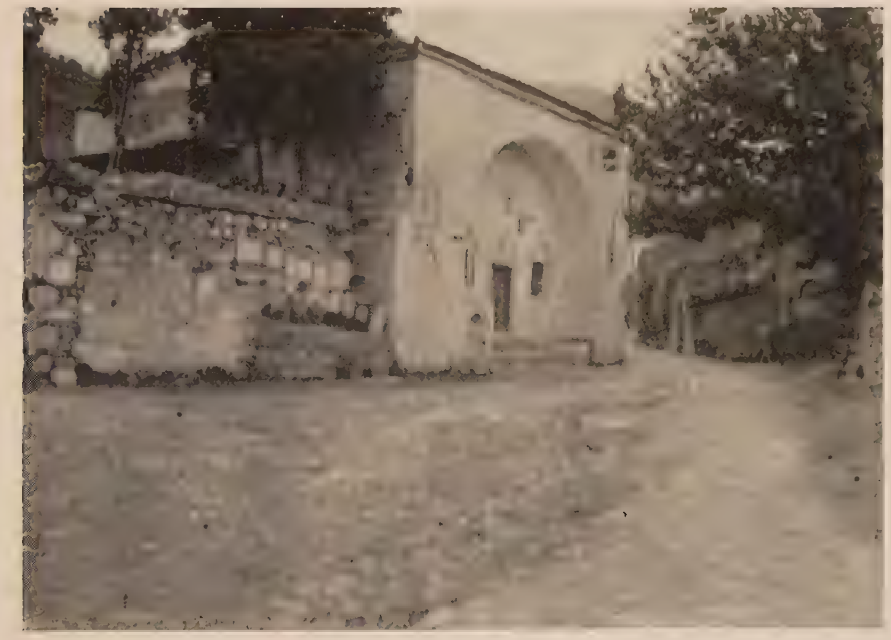


2*a*. Manissa, Ulu Djami: exterior



2*b*. Manissa Sarukhan: turbeh

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The Ulu Djami of Ishak Bey

This mosque is one of the most important religious buildings of the period of the "ten Emirats."[1] It consists of a mosque with courtyard on the east side of the compound. The west side is occupied by a medresseh. The whole is within a rectangle of which only the northern outline is somewhat broken (Fig. 3).

Mosque and courtyard are laid out on practically the same plan. The surface covered by each of them is divided by six rows of piers or columns, running from north to south and consisting of three piers or columns each. This divides court and mosque each into 28 square compartments.

The façade of mosque (Fig. 2 *a*) and medresseh is on the north side. The façade of the mosque, giving access to the courtyard, is without any ornament and is pierced by two rows of windows. A considerable part of the walls is covered with whitewash, but right and left of the entrance of the medresseh (Fig. 4) we see that the lower courses are constructed in not quite regular courses of well-squared rectangular blocks, probably borrowed from some earlier classic building, while the upper courses, beginning approximately with the second story of the medresseh, are built of smaller roughly squared stones. This may be due to reconstruction after damage through earthquake. The main gateway is of very sober design and located not quite in the center of the plan. It advances slightly in front of the building and is framed by a rectangle with a simple outer moulding. This rectangle frames a hemispherical niche covering a small porch of rectangular plan which gives access to the relatively small door. The walls supporting the niche are exceedingly simple in design, their only ornament being a band with the founder's inscription giving the date 780 A.H. The Neskhi characters of this inscription are somewhat lanky and not particularly skilful; they are ornamented with a few floral scrolls and are disfigured by modern whitewash and polychromy. The semicircular niche covering this little porch is supported in the rear corners by miniature squinches. The doorway — as it appears today — is entirely whitewashed. It is therefore possible that minor details of the decoration have disappeared.

The door opens into the courtyard, a rectangular space consisting, as stated, of 28 plan-compartments. But by leaving out the central and southernmost columns of the two central north-south rows of columns, an open courtyard is created which is formed by the area of nine compartments of the plan. This open space touches the mosque in the south, while on east, west, and north it is surrounded by the remaining 19 compartments, which are

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[1] This period may be counted from 710 A.H. (1310 A.D.) to 810 A.H., or from the end of the Seljuk dynasty to the period when Ottoman architecture begins to be conspicuous.

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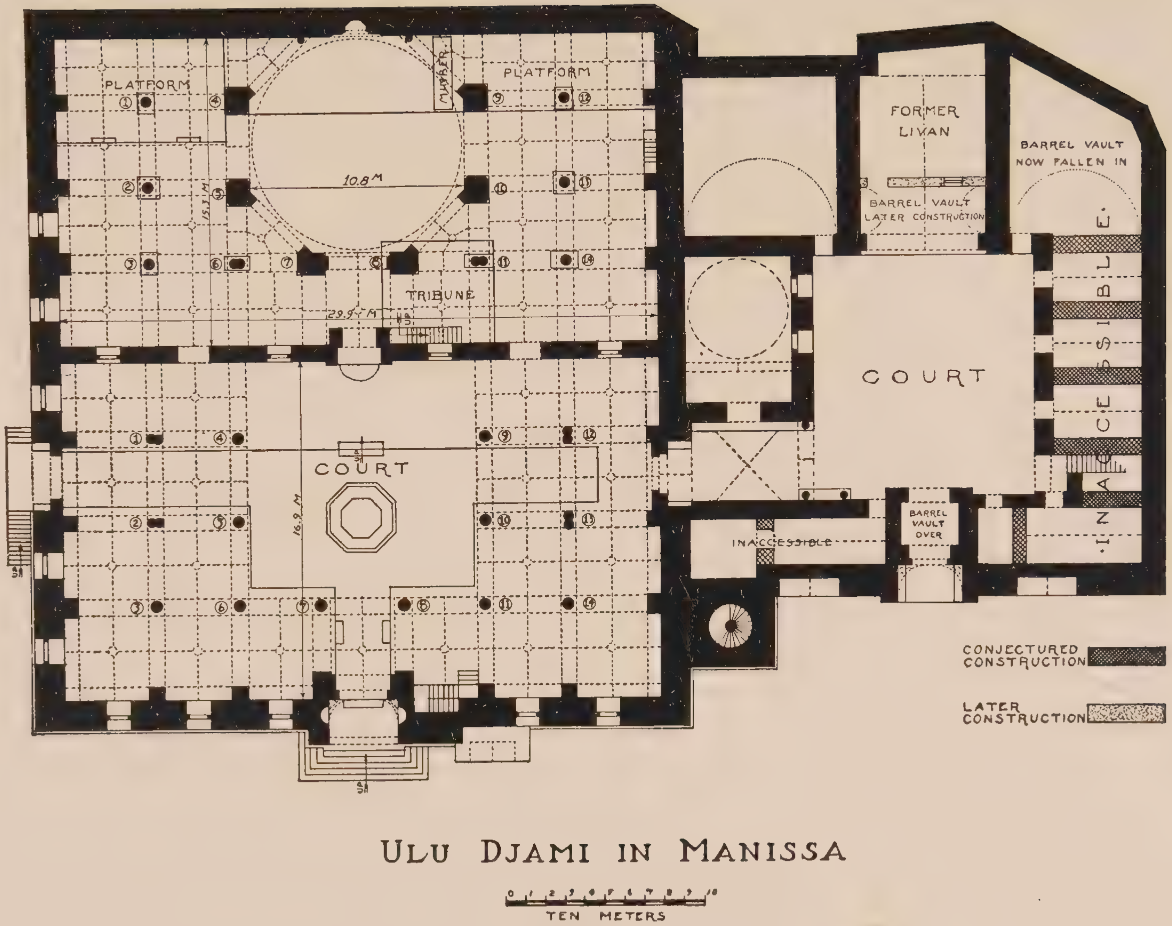
vaulted with low domical vaults, divided into four segments by axial lines. Each of these vaulting units is supported by stilted pointed arches which in their turn rest on columns (Figs. 5, 6). Thus the open space is surrounded by a lofty and pleasant arcade on three sides. An octagonal ablution basin, formerly fed by one of the numerous cool springs of the Sipylus mountain, and perhaps also trees and flowers, contributed to the charm of the place.

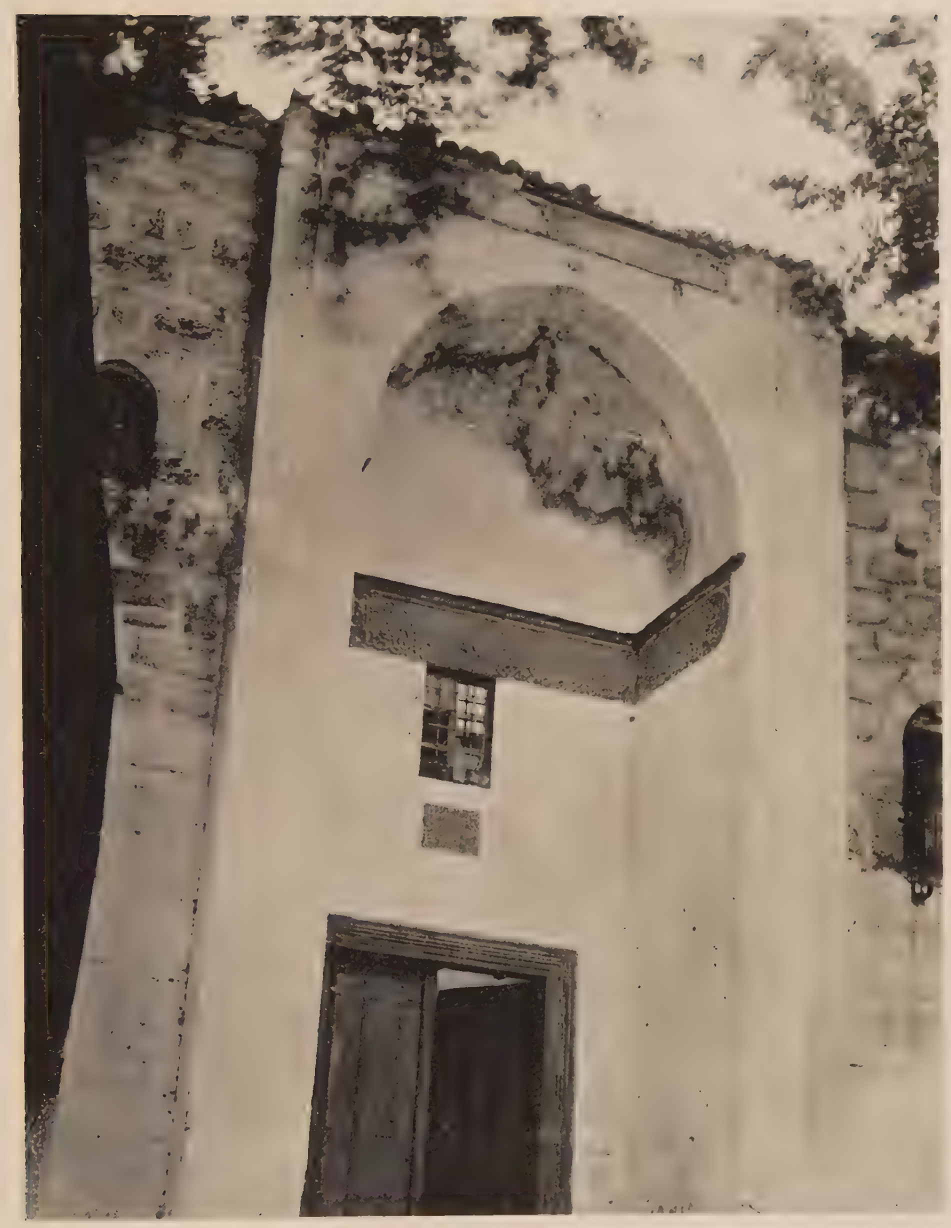
The supporting fourteen columns must have been borrowed from different ancient buildings, for some of the columns are plain and others are delicately fluted. In several cases (nos. 1, 2, 12, 13 of the plan) two columns have been employed instead of a single one. There is no structural reason for this gemination, and the capitals of these twin columns are formed by two capitals, sometimes of different design, which have roughly been joined together.

The façade of the mosque building, properly speaking, is of Spartan simplicity though not devoid of dignity. The original structural material is hidden under a coat of stucco and whitewash. The façade, as it appears now, is absolutely plain save for a simple cornice; the slightly advancing porch of the main entrance is surmounted by a semicircular arch, and to right and left are two rows of windows. The lower windows are of rectangular shape, framed by simple mouldings. The upper windows — two of them correspond to one of the lower windows — have no moulding and are semicircular at the top.

The interior of the mosque is laid out on exactly the same plan as the courtyard: the different vaulting units are covered with the same type of domical vaults on stilted pointed arches supported by columns which in some cases are geminated. However, the nine compartments of the plan, corresponding to those of the open space in the courtyard, are covered by a large dome, which introduces a centralizing feature in the plan and emphasizes the prayer niche. This dome is set on an octagonal base on piers with chamfered edges and not on columns, as is the case with the remainder of the vaulting (Fig. 8). These piers occupy the points 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 9 of the plan, and with the addition of points 15 and 16 on the south wall these piers form the corners of the octagon. The sides of the octagon are formed by the south wall of the mosque (points 15 to 16), by six pointed arches connecting points 15, 4, 5, 7 on the one hand, 8, 10, 9, 16 on the other. The throwing of the arches between 4 and 15, 5 and 7, 8 and 10, 9 and 16 produces four triangular spaces which are vaulted with low domical vaults divided into 3 segments. The same feature of a large dome covering several plan-compartments with four triangular spaces in the four corners occurs in the Utsh Sherifli mosque in Adrianople, which is of slightly later date. In the mosque of Manissa these triangular spaces remain somewhat unnoticed, as the interest of the spectator focusses on the central dome. In Utsh Sherifli they are emphasized by stalactite niches, etc., and appear there as a rather poor solution of the problem of setting the octa-


PLATFORM
PLATFORM
MIHRAB
10.8 M
15.1 M
TRIBUNE
29.97 M
COURT
16.9 M
COURT
FORMER LIVAN
BARREL VAULT LATER CONSTRUCTION
BARREL VAULT NOW FALLEN IN
INACCESSIBLE
INACCESSIBLE
BARREL VAULT OVER
CONJECTURED CONSTRUCTION
LATER CONSTRUCTION
ULU DJAMI IN MANISSA
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
TEN METERS

3. Manissa, Ulu Djami: sketch diagram of plan (776 A.H., 1376 A.D.)



4. Manissa, Ulu Djami: entrance into medresseh

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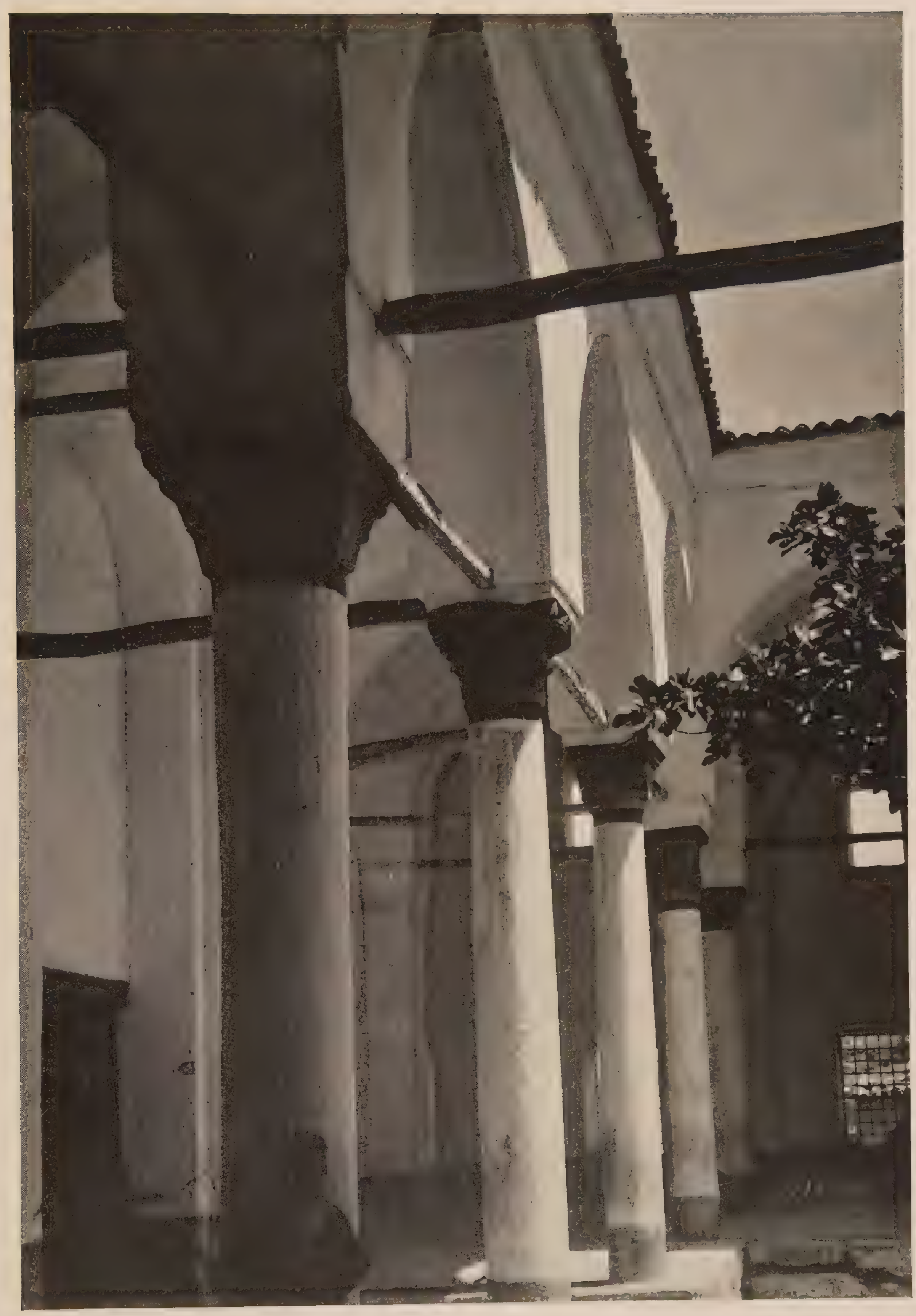

5. Manissa, Ulu Djami: north arcade of courtyard

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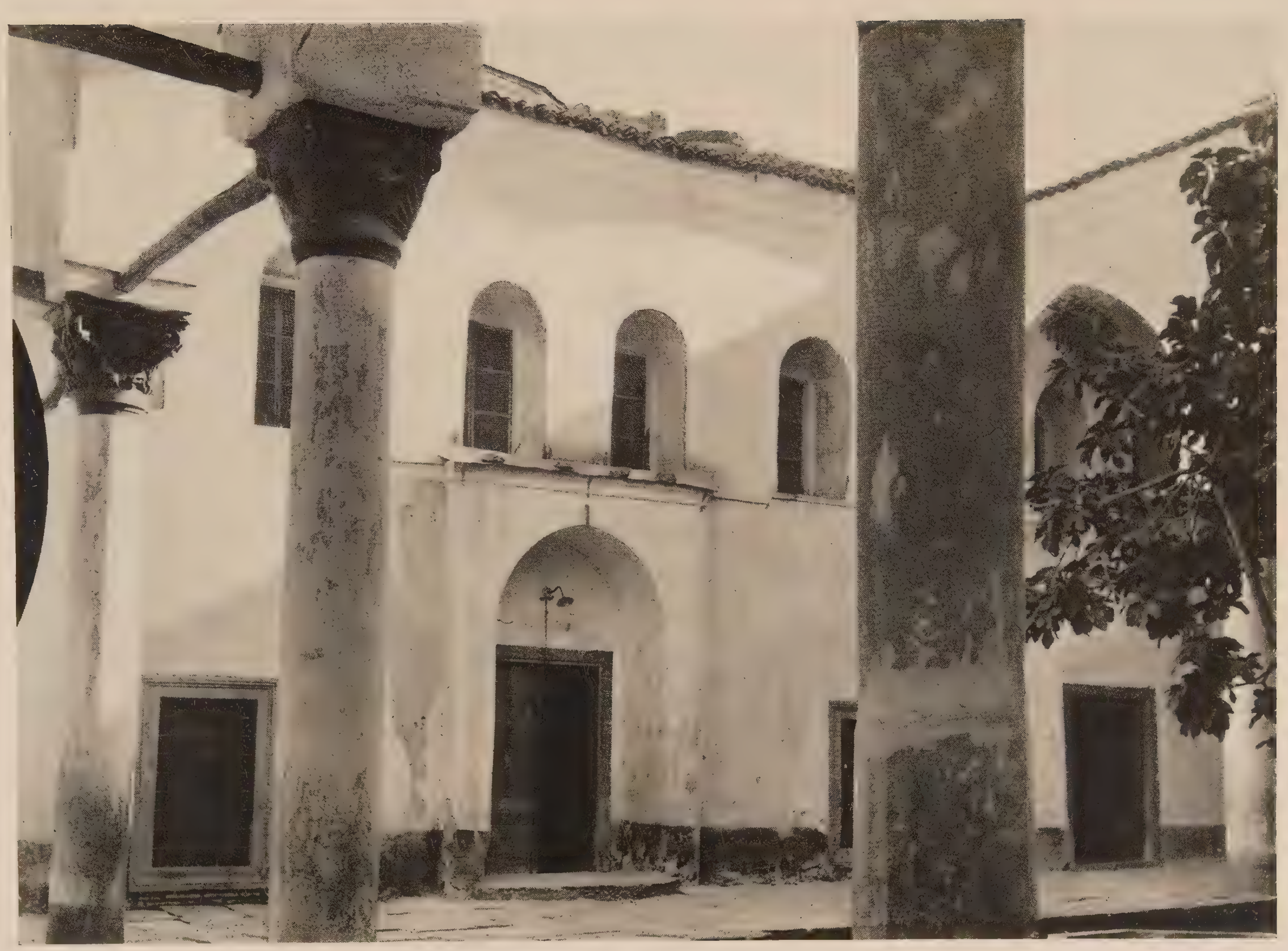

6. Manissa, Ulu Djami: north façade of mosque and courtyard

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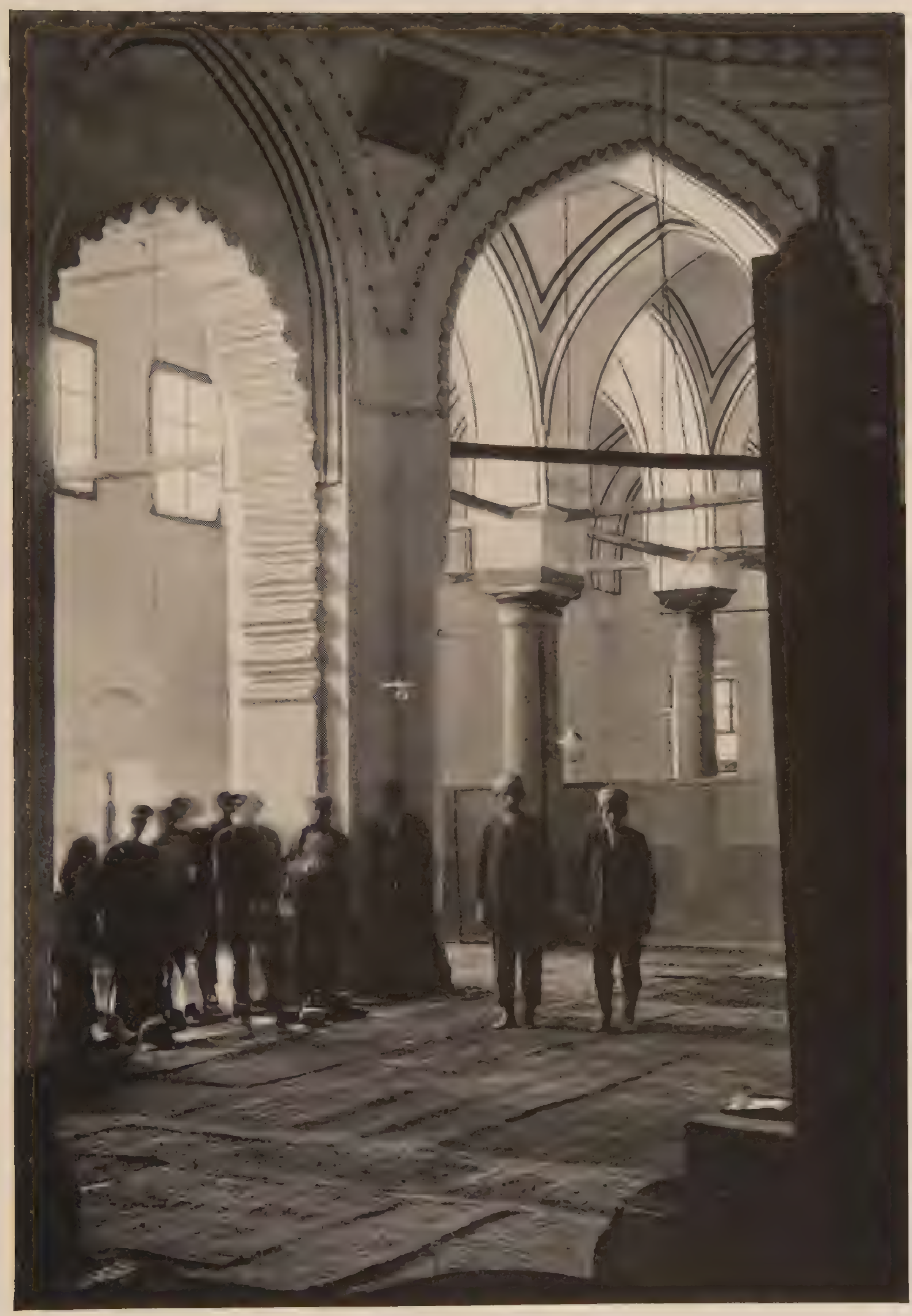

7. Manissa, Ulu Djami: interior of mosque, seen from minbar

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gon into the square. The arch between 7 and 8, which forms a sort of triumphal arch leading towards the mihrab, has been duly emphasized by giving it a richly scalloped outline: a semicircular arch, ornamented by the alternation of a torus moulding and a semicircular scotia, separated by fillets. The heavy chiaroscuro of this moulding, contrasting with the simplicity of the other pointed arches, is very striking (Fig. 7).

The design of the piers conforms to the direction of the arches which they support. The points 15 and 16 to the right and left of the prayer niche are not emphasized by pilasters, as one might expect, but by classic columns of colored marble surmounted by late classic or Early Byzantine capitals, slightly campaniform.

The remaining vaulting units are covered by domical vaults divided by axial lines into 4 segments identical with those which cover the porch. They are supported by stilted arches that in their turn rest on columns which in some cases (no. 6 for instance) are geminated. All through the courtyard, the mosque, and the medresseh, a great variety of structural elements taken from earlier buildings has been employed. Late classic or Byzantine jambs and architraves have been re-used. A considerable number of columns are late classic or Byzantine, some plain, others fluted; some of white marble, others of diversely colored marbles. The most important borrowed elements are certainly the capitals, which must come from various earlier buildings. Fig. 14 shows two capitals: the left one has the earmarks of the seventh or eighth century A.D. but may be a later survival of the type; the one to the right appears to be a debased Theodosian form. Fig. 15 is of a crude provincial Byzantine type. The two capitals of Fig. 16 are rather elegant, perhaps of the third or fourth century, and represent a fluted calyx-shaped type adorned with floral motives at the base. Other simpler specimens of this type we find also in the Ulu Djami of Birgeh. The capitals of Fig. 19 seem to be of the third century, while the capital of Fig. 19a seems to be a debased and later form of a capital of the same period. Besides these borrowed capitals, bases of columns sometimes seem to have assumed the function of capitals. In other cases crude imposts with chamfered corners apparently of Turkish make (Fig. 7), or even rather graceful Turkish stalactite capitals, have been employed (Figs. 5, 8). The latter are worthy of further study, and the history of the Seljuk capital will some day be one of the most interesting chapters of the history of Turkish art. I regret that time did not permit me to photograph the entire series of the capitals of Ulu Djami, a task I hope to accomplish on some later occasion.

The mosque is lighted by a double row of windows on the north and east sides. Formerly the upper windows were certainly provided with stained glass; even today the effect of the dimmed light in the simple but dignified vaults is exceedingly beautiful.

As to the furnishings of the mosque, no wooden shutters of any interest have been preserved, and the mihrab is without interest. The rugs offer hardly anything outside of the ordinary, except one rather fine Kumurdju Kulah of Sedjadeh size and a badly damaged though quite beautiful Kulah prayer rug.

The main interest rests with the minbar (pulpit), a very fine piece of Seljuk carving of the usual shape. The doors of the entrance have been preserved, but the hood of the top is missing. The front has three inscriptions, the two upper ones Koranic, the third one giving the date of construction, 778 A.H. (see inscription 31). On the doors are four inscriptions of Koranic texts. The right side of the minbar is not visible, but the left side presents six inscriptions of religious character. On the railing to the left is the inscription of the artist, which gives Hadji Muhammad [b.?] Abd ul-Aziz as maker of the mihrab (Figs. 12, 13, 13 *a–d*).

The inscriptions reveal that this minbar was erected at the same time as the mosque. In conformity with this date, the decoration is prevailingly of arabesque character. In the base of the minbar, however, floral decoration of semi-naturalistic character of Chinese peony design can be found. This is for Turkey a very early occurrence of the "Chinese" style.

In Seljuk woodwork two different techniques are employed (see page 147). In the first, design and background are executed on two planes: the design on a plane flush with the surface of the board, without any attempt at relief; the background a sunken plane. This technique is the cheaper and more primitive one. The second technique has also a sunken background, but the design is richly modeled in the round, sometimes even with undercutting. It is worth noting that in the present mihrab the panels below the canopy are decorated in the first, simpler technique, while the panels in the triangular field below the steps are decorated in the richer technique. As usual, geometric interlacing forms a polygonal skeleton frame, and the stars and polygons formed by the interlacing are filled with rich arabesque carving.

The Medresseh

A vaulted passage leads from the courtyard of the mosque into the medresseh. There is nothing remarkable on the right side of the passage, as one walks from the mosque towards the medresseh, but on the left side is the entrance into the turbeh of Ishak Bey. Above the door is an inscription. To right and left of the door are beautiful quadruple "knotted" columns of a red and yellow breccia (Fig. 9). In the middle of the shafts is a curious knotted intertwined effect. These columns are no doubt Byzantine, and similar columns, less skilfully worked, are found in the mosque of Ala ed-Din in Konia.[1]

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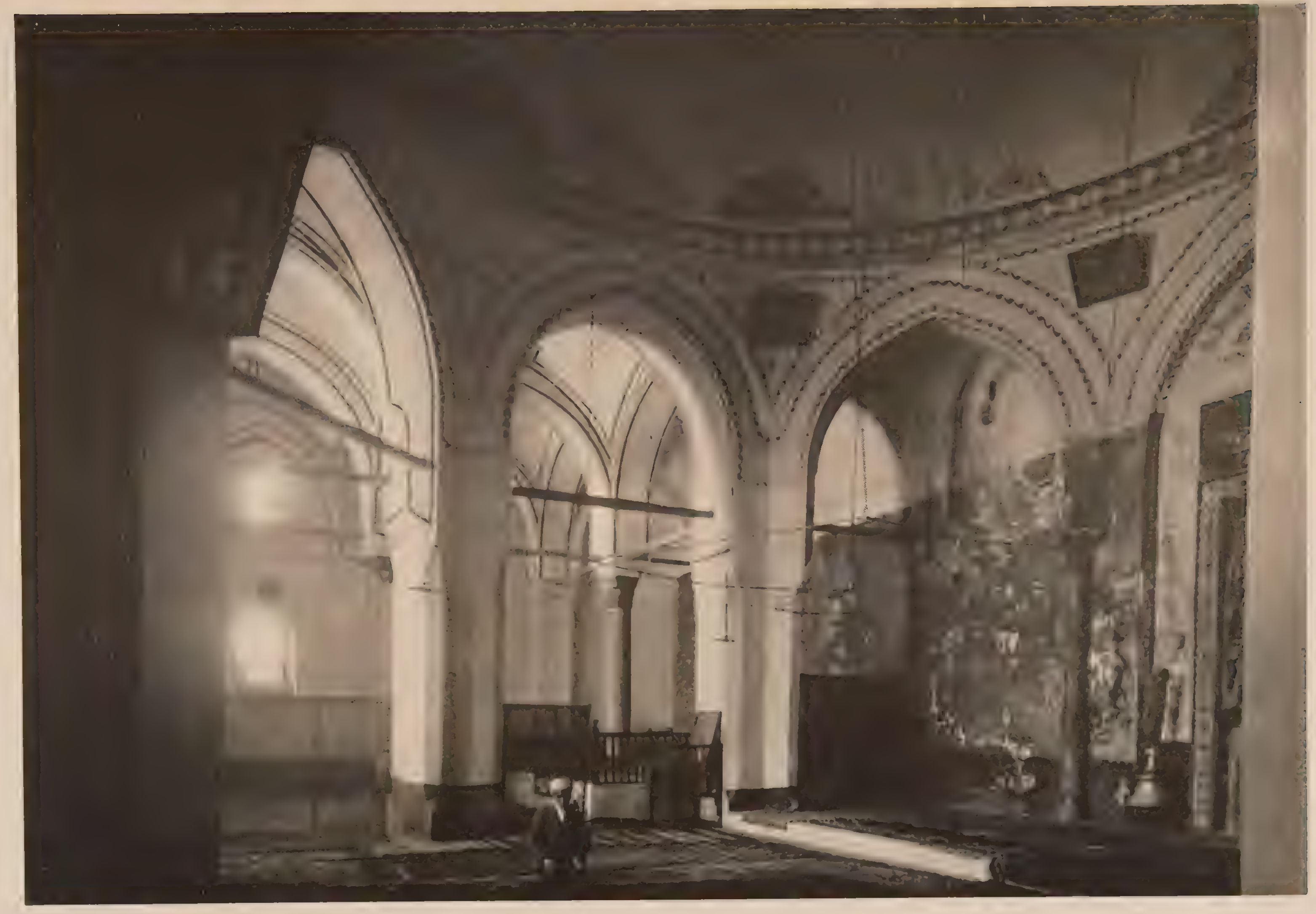
[1] See Sarre, *Konia*, Fig. 8.



8. Manissa, Ulu Djami: central dome and eastern part of mosque

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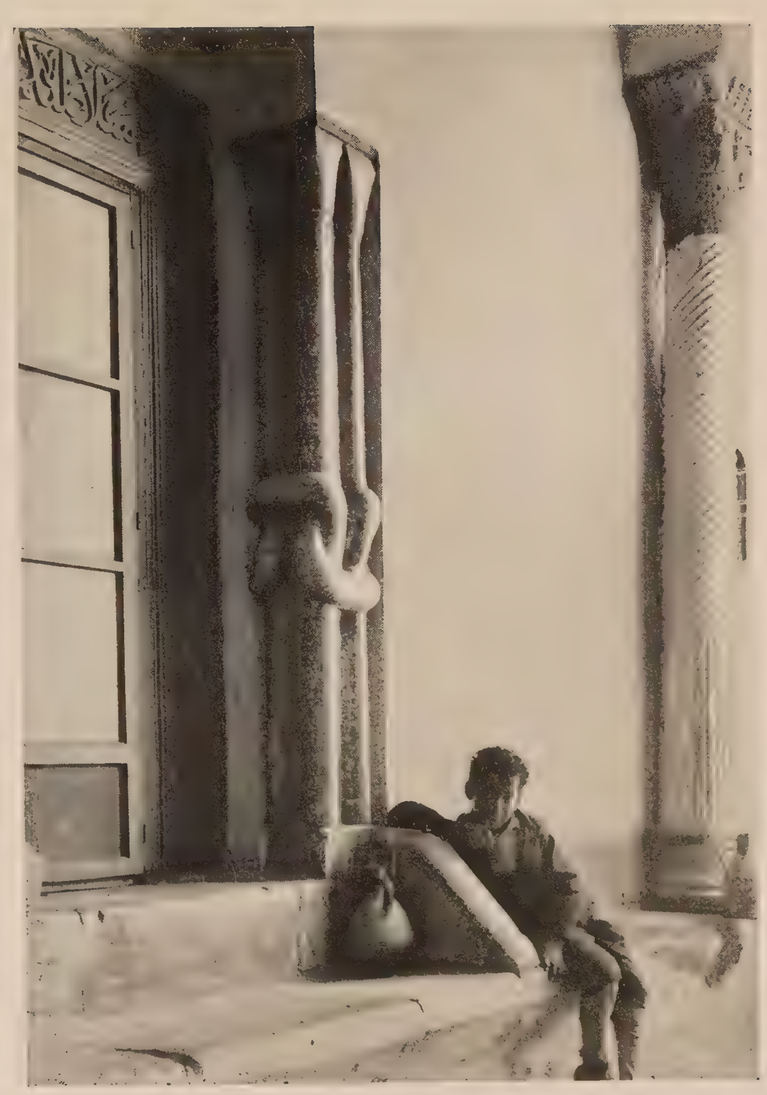
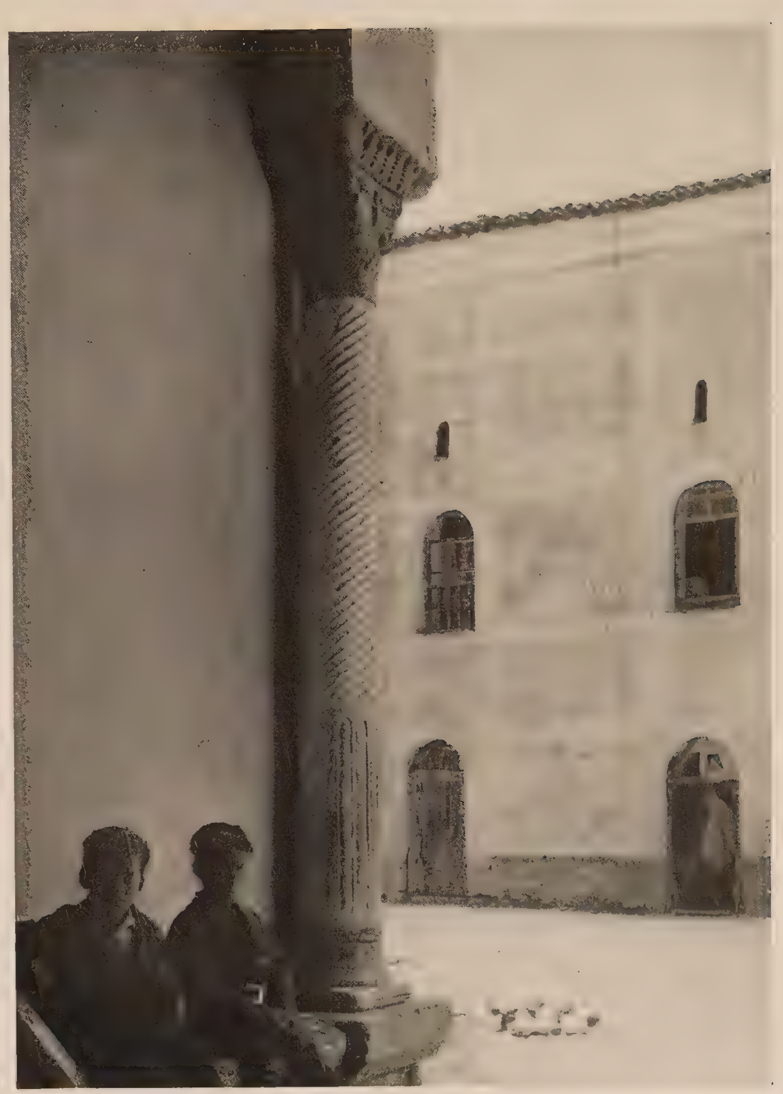


9. Manissa, Ulu Djami: interlocked columns at entrance of turbeh



10. Manissa, Ulu Djami: late classic column and Byzantine capital at entrance from mosque into medresseh

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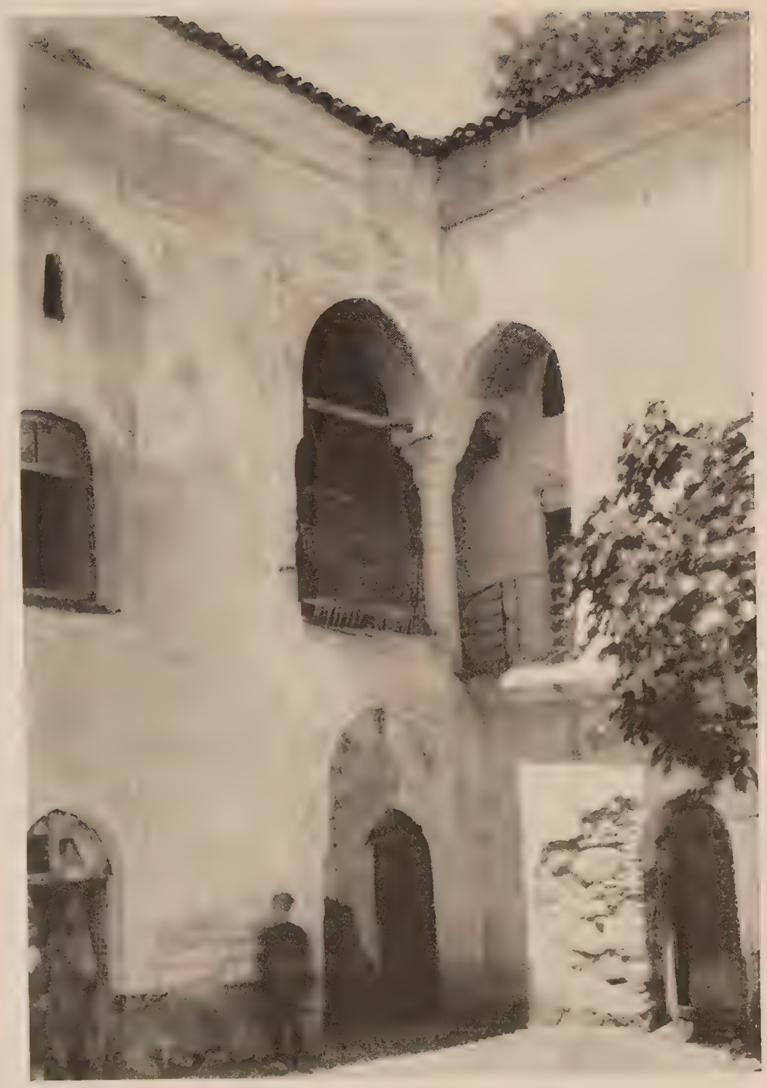
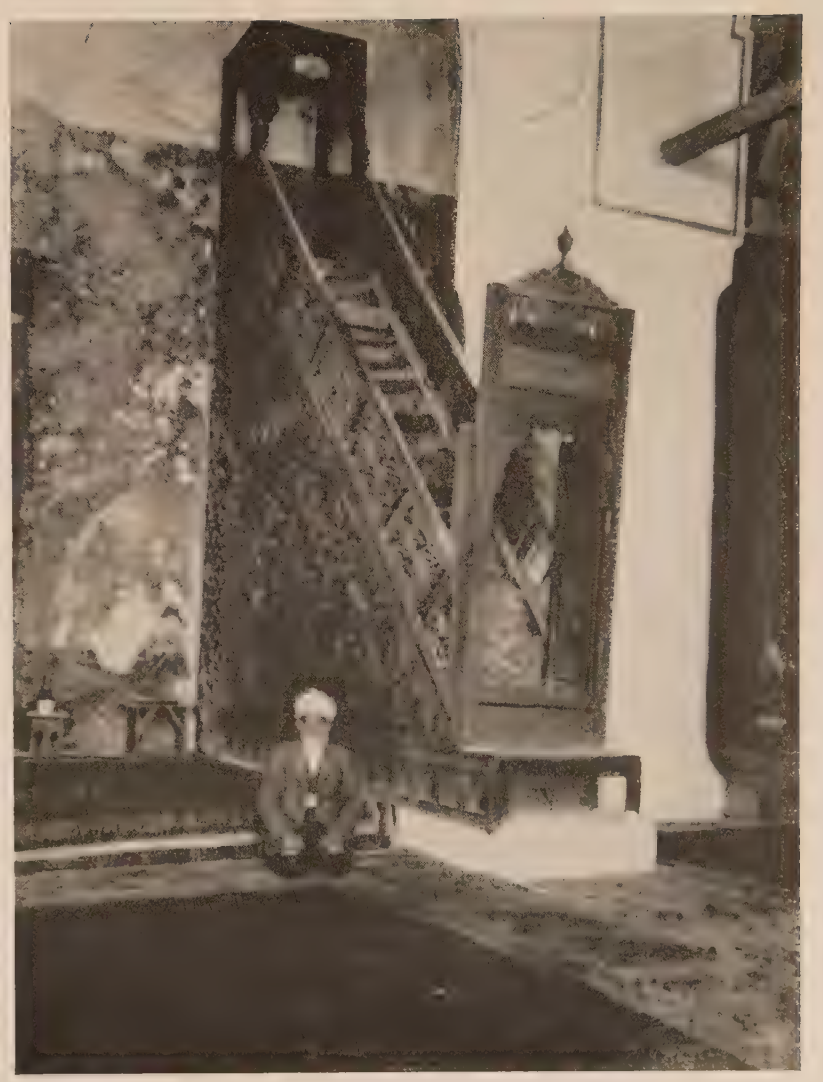


11. Manissa, Ulu Djami: northwest corner of medresseh



12. Manissa, Ulu Djami: the minbar (dated 778 A.H.; 1376 A.D.)

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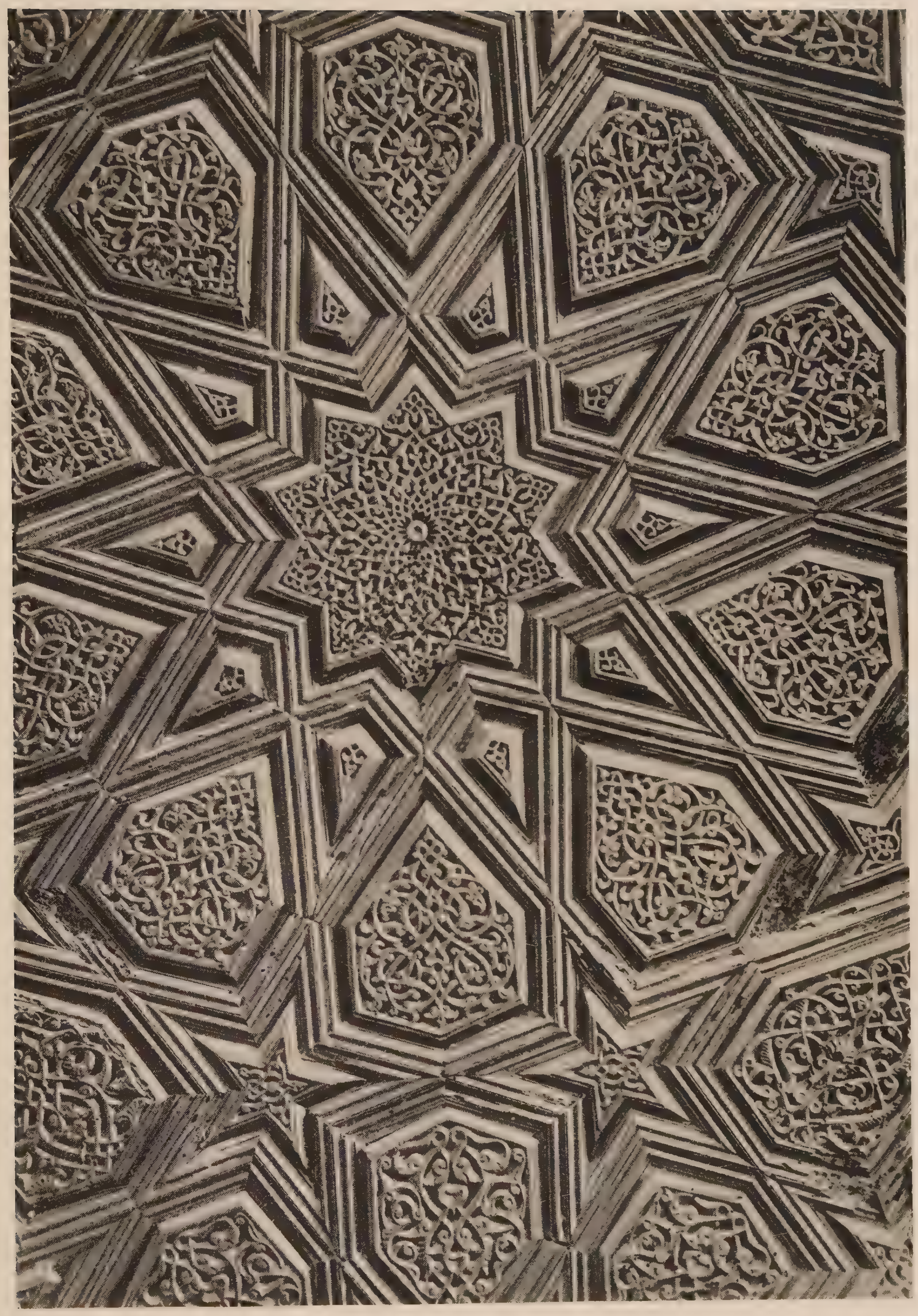

13. Manissa, Ulu Djami: detail of minbar

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Other examples, incredibly slender and most skilfully worked, are found supporting the hood of the minbar of Zeirek Djami, the Byzantine church of the Pantokrator in Stambul. The same columns occur on the pulpit of St. Sophia in Ochrida. This pulpit is nothing but the minbar of the Turkish period, built with the elements of what might have been a ciborium.[1] This church goes back to the eleventh Christian century and had its west side rebuilt in the early fourteenth century. It may well be that these columns belong to the earliest period of the church.

Similar knotted columns occur also in Byzantine miniature painting among the columns supporting the arches of the canons.[2]

The capitals of the knotted columns in Manissa seem to have been trimmed, although it is not impossible that the original bases are now used as capitals.

The passage opens into the medresseh through a high gateway with slightly pointed and stilted arch. This arch is supported on the left side by a column with straight fluting in the lower third; the two upper thirds show delicate spiral fluting (Figs. 10, 18). This column seems to be of late classic origin or Early Byzantine, while the capital represents a curious early Byzantine type, but perhaps of later provincial execution; its lower part consists of basket-shaped trellis work.[3] It is surmounted by a somewhat stunted four-scroll top, derived evidently from a Corinthian archetype; on top is an abacus with acanthus decoration and above this an impost of low rectangular shape, with a frieze of strongly conventionalized acanthus. The column to the right is plain. The capital, perhaps of the Middle Byzantine period, shows a design of a quincunx of decorated bosses. Similar capitals are observed in the Hatunieh Djami in Manissa (Fig. 17) and among the collection of Byzantine capitals in the Smyrna Museum.

The medresseh is also entered from the outside by a gateway located in the central axis (Fig. 4). This gateway slightly projects in front of the wall and shows a high, very slightly pointed arch, set into a rectangular frame. The arch opens into a recessed niche of rectangular plan, covered by a hemispherical ceiling. The door leading into the medresseh is framed by jambs and architrave of colored marble with typically Byzantine profiles. The founder's inscription forms a frieze on all three sides of the recessed niche, just below the springing of the hemispherical niche. The walls of the façade are pierced by several small windows terminating in semicircular arches. Passing through the door one enters the courtyard of the medresseh (Figs. 10, 11), which is of the two-storied type with central courtyard. Opposite the entrance wall is the south wall with the large eggshaped arch of the main liwan, which is now filled by modern dwelling constructions, sheltering the hodja of the mosque. The liwan shows today a transversal narrow barrel vault in the space between the frontal arch and the façade of the hodja's dwelling. I am inclined to ascribe this to a later reconstruction. Exact examination was impossible. Both to the right and to the left of the liwan is a small door, which leads on the left into a spacious room with a semicircular barrel vault running from north to south. The vault of the corresponding room to the right has collapsed. In the room to the left is the entrance into a subterranean construction (cistern or spring). The eastern wall of the medresseh is occupied by the passage into the courtyard of the mosque and by two windows, surmounted by smaller windows, which light the turbeh of Ishak Bey. This I found inaccessible. It is ceiled by a dome, preceded by an oblong vaulting unit. The right or western wall of the medresseh contains the students' rooms in two stories. A small loggia in the northwest corner, with a column surmounted by an apparently Theodosian capital, offers agreeable variety to the design (Fig. 11). A somewhat similar feature is observed in the northeast corner, in which a column with a curiously primitive Byzantine capital forms a sort of arcade effect. It is to be noted that all arches used in this part of the building are semicircular. The original mode of construction is concealed under a heavy coat of stucco. I was not able to enter the students' apartments that fill not alone the west but also the north tract.

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[1] See Filow, *Early Bulgarian Art* (Berne, 1919), pp. 9-11, pl. 3.

[2] See a manuscript of Mt. Athos, Dionysiu, No. 4, reproduced in Wulff, *Altchr. und Byz. Kunst.*, p. 539.

[3] A similar, though very stocky column from a Coptic monument, is to be seen in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin (Wulff, *Altchr. und Byz. Kunst*, Fig. 255).

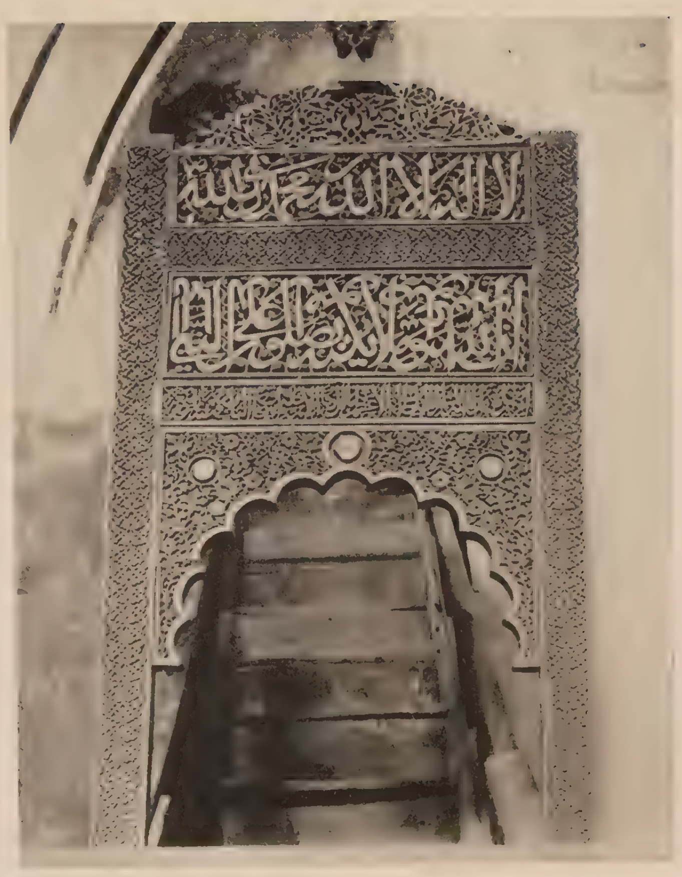
The Minareh

Where medresseh and mosque meet to the north, stands the minareh. As usual in Turkish architecture of this period, the minareh is constructed in brick. It has one balcony ("sherifeh") and seems to be restored above the balcony. The bricks are laid in diagonal courses and are alternatingly glazed turquoise-blue, cobalt and green. The seemingly red bricks appearing at irregular intervals are — as close inspection reveals — bricks from which the glaze has fallen (Fig. 20).

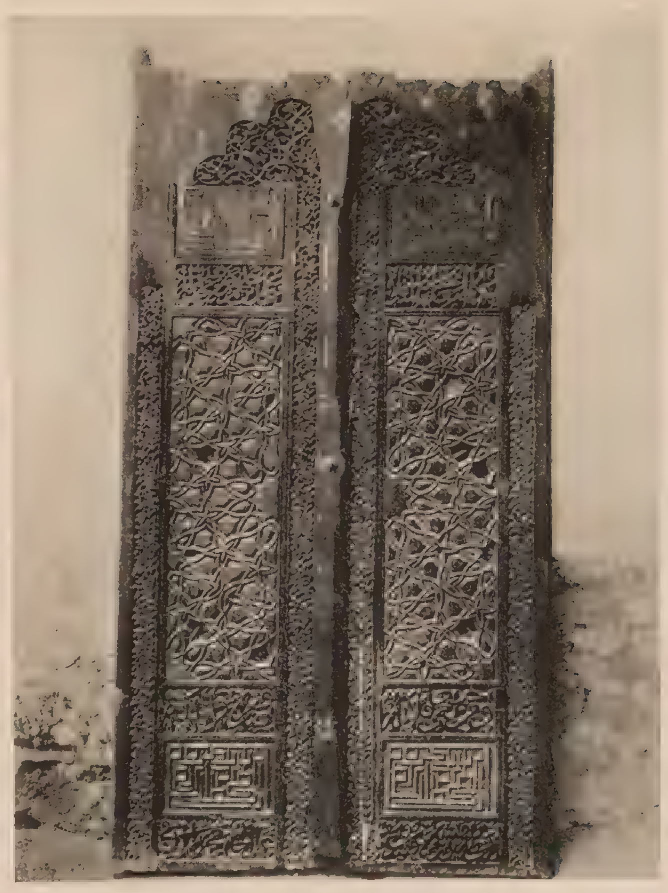
Observations on Ulu Djami

The Ulu or Ishak Bey Djami of Manissa is one of a group of mosques in southwestern Anatolia that deserves closer study. The other mosques of similar type are: Yivli Djami in Antalia, Ulu Djami in Birgeh, and Ulu Djami in Tireh. On the other hand, the Ishak Djami in Manissa attaches itself to the group of earlier Ulu Djamis in Central Anatolia, such as Ulu Djami in Sivas, Ulu Djami in Niksar, Ulu Djami in Divrigi, Karaman Oglu Djami in Akshehir, Ulu Djami in Van, Ala ed-Din Djami in Konia, Ulu Djami in Beyshehir, Bazar Djami, Chouand Djami, and Hadji Kilidj Djami, all in Kaisarieh.

All these mosques are mosques without a courtyard. Only in some cases is one structural compartment left unvaulted to show the ablution fountain



13*a*. Manissa, Ulu Djami: minbar, top of entrance



13*b*. Manissa, Ulu Djami: minbar, doors

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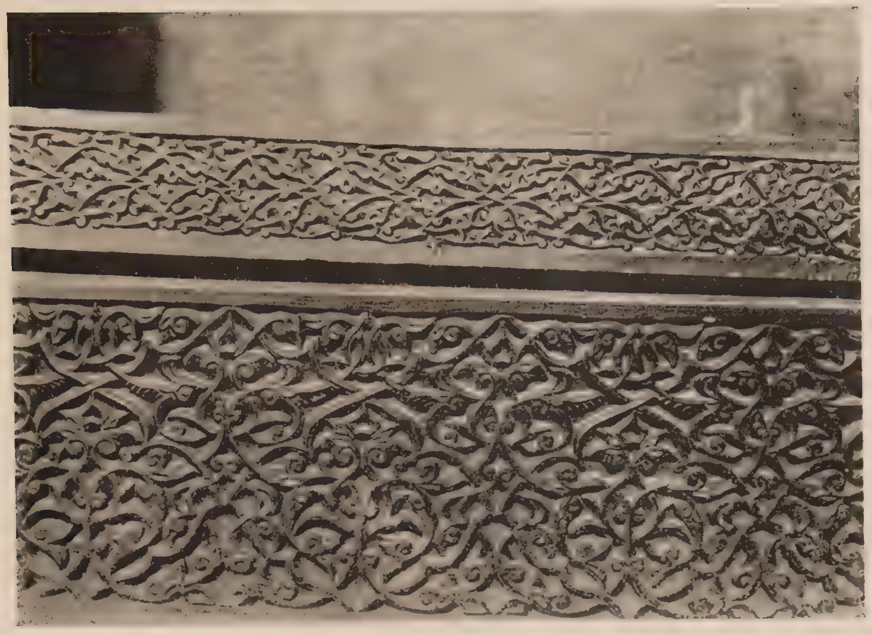
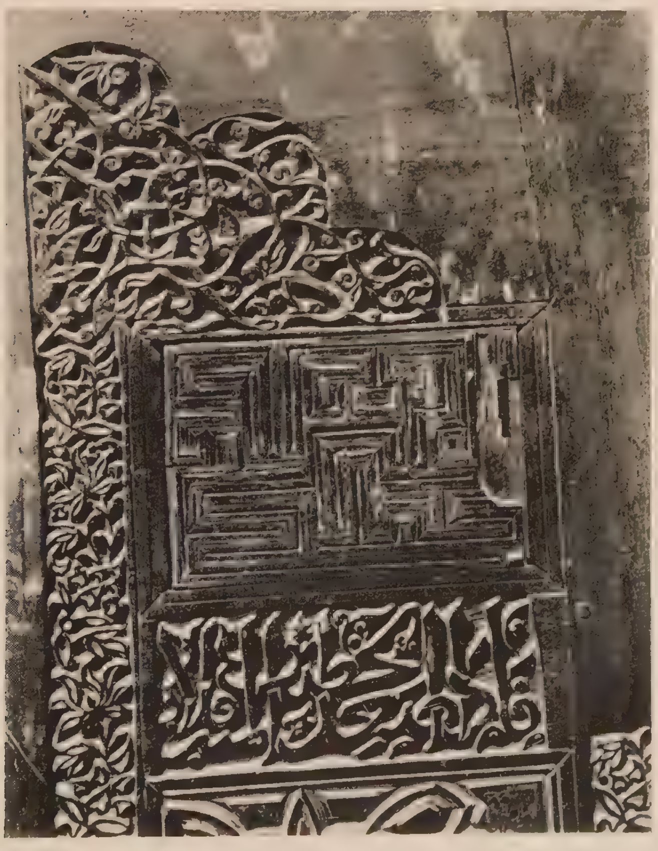


13*c*. Manissa, Ulu Djami: minbar, detail



13*d*. Manissa, Ulu Djami: minbar, detail — top of door

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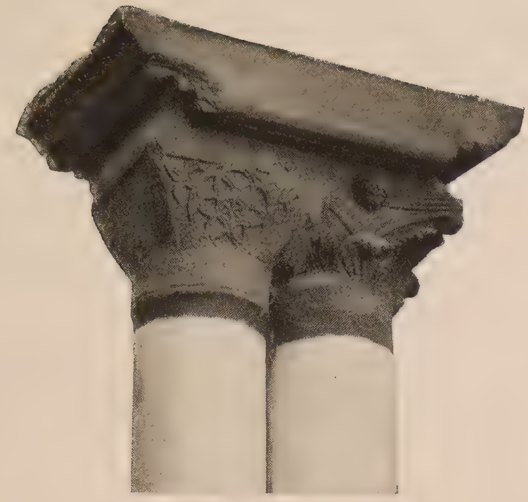
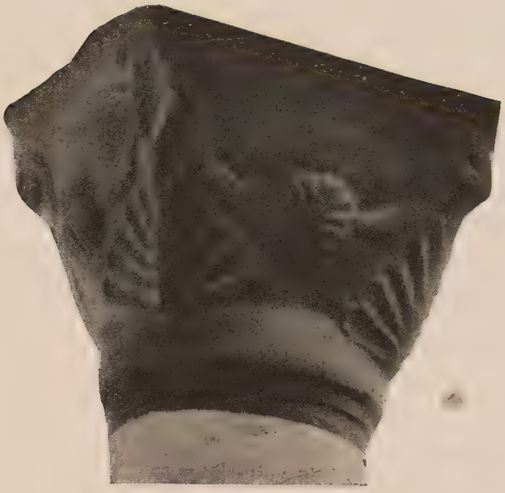
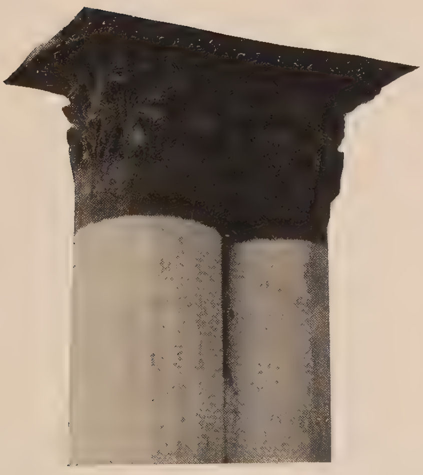


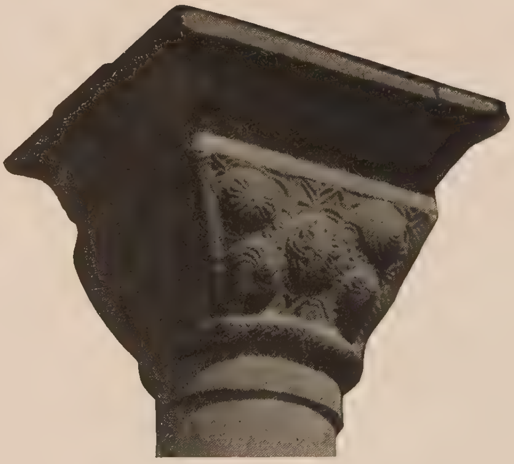
14. Manissa, Ulu Djami: two capitals on columns in courtyard. Left: probably 7th–8th century. Right: debased Theodosian type



15. Manissa, Ulu Djami: capital in courtyard (rather debased and late)



16. Manissa, Ulu Djami: two capitals in courtyard (calyx shaped, probably 3rd–4th century)



17. Manissa, Hatunieh Djami: capital of porch; middle Byzantine

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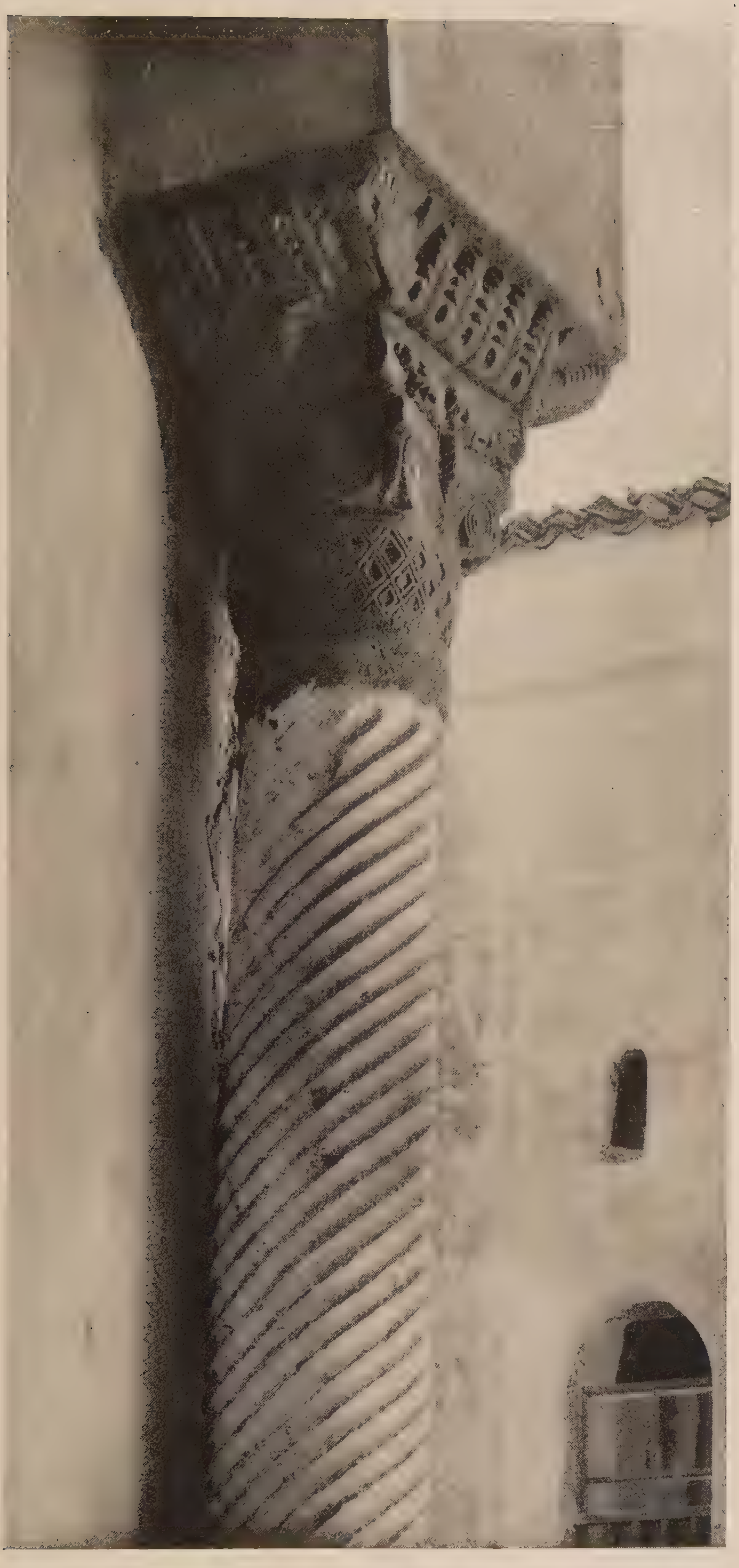
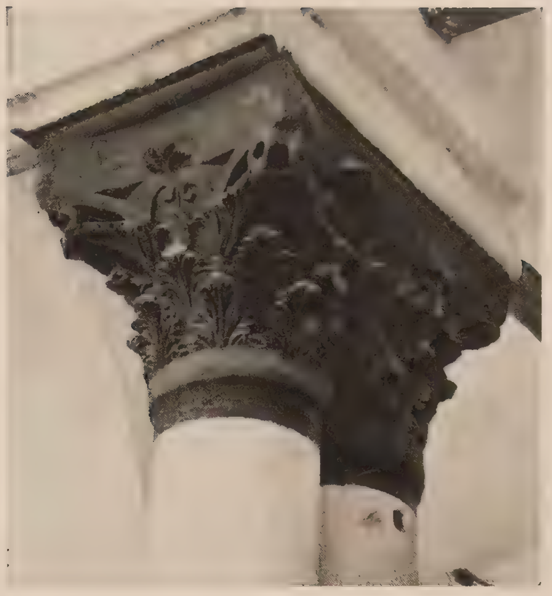
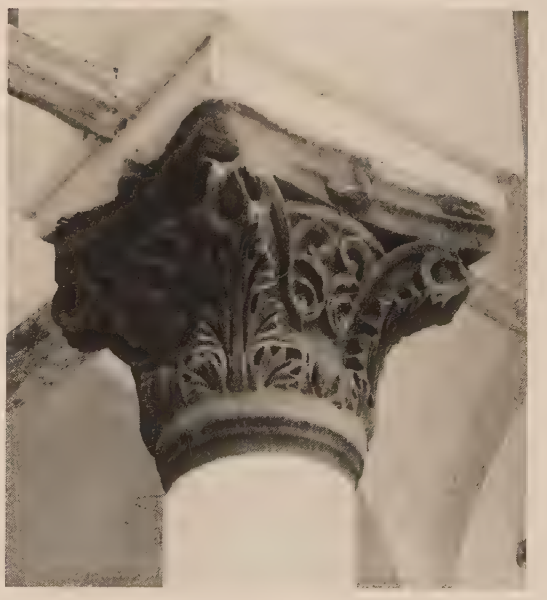


18. Manissa, Ulu Djami: Byzantine capital and impost at entrance from mosque into medresseh (6th-century type)



19. Manissa, Ulu Djami: two capitals in courtyard (probably of the 3rd century)



19*a*. Manissa, Ulu Djami: capital in courtyard (3rd century or later)

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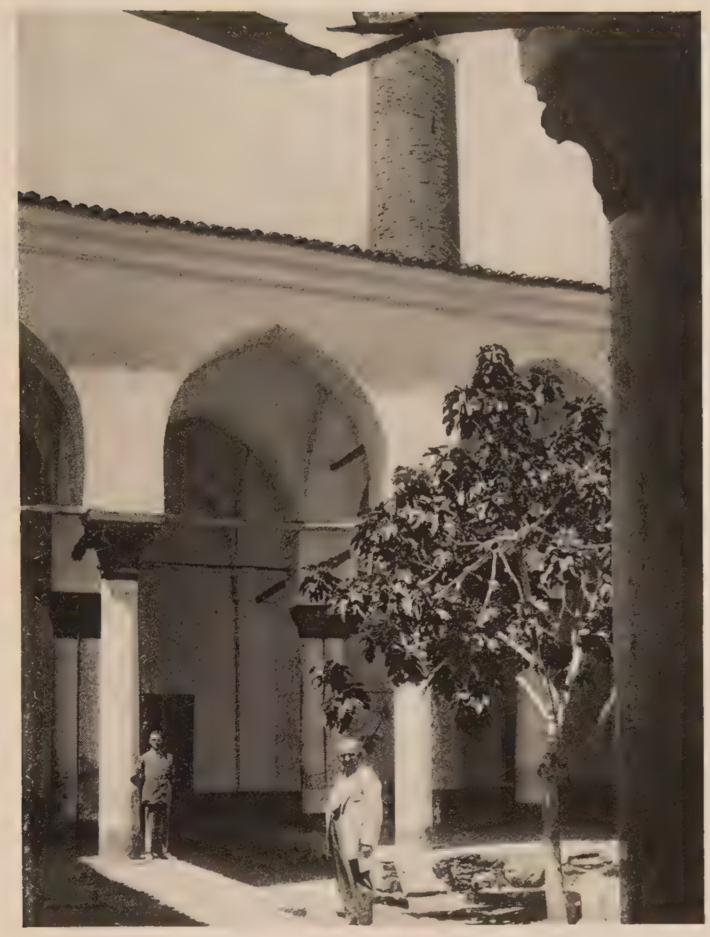
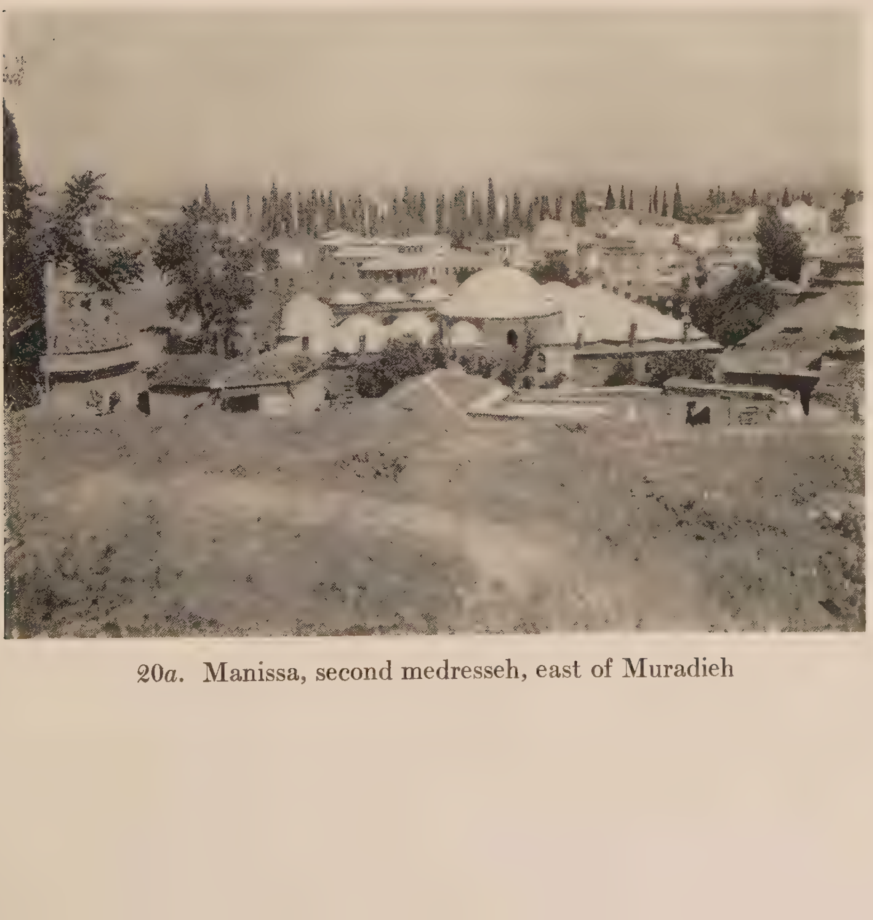


20. Manissa, Ulu Djami: west side of courtyard with minareh



20a. Manissa, second medresseh, east of Muradieh

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underneath. The Ulu Djami in Sivas seems to have a courtyard, but in my forthcoming study on the architecture of Central Anatolia I shall be able to demonstrate that this mosque originally had none. The courtyard, therefore, seems to have been a feature entering into Turkish architecture of Anatolia only at a later date.

According to our present information, the mosques of Isa Bey in Seljuk (Ephesus, or Ayasoluk) and the mosque of Ishak Bey in Manissa are the earliest Anatolian mosques with courtyard. The courtyard of the mosque in Seljuk has no stone-built arcades; the stone columns supported a timber-built roof covering sheltered passages around the three walls of the court. This construction dates from 776 A.H. (1375 A.D.). A few years later we find in Manissa a mosque in which the motif of the courtyard is fully developed (780 A.H. [1378/9 A.D.]). At the first glance the treatment of the courtyard corresponds to one of the smaller Cairo mosques, such as the late Fatimite mosque Salih Telayeh, near the Bab es Zuweileh, or the Aqsunqur mosque of 1346. However, since this type of plan was generally known throughout Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia, it would be impossible, with the limited information at hand, to try to define any particular influence or model which inspired the courtyard of the mosque of Manissa. Although this courtyard is the earliest courtyard with vaulted compartments known in Turkey, it differs somewhat from the courtyards we find in the later Ottoman mosques. The first striking point is that the mosques in Brussa do not have a courtyard. The only exception is Emir Sultan, which, judged by its present appearance, is about 150 years old. Utsh Sherifli in Adrianople was begun by Sultan Musa between 1410 and 1413 A.D. It was "reconstructed" by Murad II between 1437 and 1447 A.D. It will be difficult to determine to which period the courtyard belongs. The courtyard has painted and tile decorations with the date of Murad II. Then follows the mosque of Fatih in Constantinople, the courtyard of which is at least partially reconstructed.

The courtyard of Manissa differs, however, from the Ottoman courtyard, which is always of one row of plan-compartments usually covered by domes. To right and left of the open space the courtyard of Manissa has two rows of compartments covered by domical vaults, a form of vaulting particularly in favor during the eighth century A.H. It is therefore a very interesting forerunner of the design of courtyards destined to be one of the essential features of Ottoman mosques.

The plan of the mosque itself is not less interesting. Seljuk congregational mosques — i. e., mosques planned to hold considerable numbers of people, if not the whole Moslem community of the city — were first built on the principle of coördinated longitudinal or latitudinal units: arcades, generally running towards the mihrab, are covered by a simple timber roof (Sivas; Ala ed-

Din, Konia). In some cases the principle of exalting the mihrab by a dome is found (Sivas; Ala ed-Din, Konia; Chouand Djami, Kaisarieh, and others). This latter feature is of course current throughout Islam and its occurrence in Turkey is not surprising. In some cases, as in the Ulu Djami of Van and in the timber-constructed Eshref Oglu Djami in Beyshehir, also in the Ulu Djami of Birgeh, the compartment in front of the mihrab is surrounded by arches of particularly strong build, which may or may not support a dome.

The next evolution is to replace the timber roof by barrel vaults. Of this type I know only one example: the Hadji Kilidj Djami in Kaisarieh. From this results the further evolution to square coördinated compartments of the congregational mosque plan, in which only the compartment in front of the mihrab might be emphasized. Examples of this type, vaulted generally with low cross vaults on intersecting ribs,[1] are the Ulu Djami in Van, the Ulu Djami in Niksar, the Karaman Oglu Djami in Akserai. Unfortunately they are all undated, but I am inclined to assign them all to the eighth century A.H. (fourteenth Christian century). The mosque of Manissa is a further link in this chain. The next step is the replacing of the low cross vaults by hemispherical domes. Perhaps the earliest specimen of this type is the Yivli Djami in Antalia, which will be studied below. It dates from 774 A.H. (1372/3 A.D.). The next example in date is probably the Ulu Djami in Brussa, which was built about 802 A.H. (1399/1400 A.D.). I have enumerated elsewhere the other specimens of these congregational mosques with a plan of coördinated domes, which, by the way, all but coincides with the plans of the besestans, wherein Ottoman architecture has developed simple but beautiful forms.

In the mosque of Manissa emphasis is laid on the dome in front of the mihrab by supporting it not on columns but on heavy piers. This was of course a structural necessity, but at the same time the decorative emphasis on the arch leading from the entrance gate into this "maqsura" almost reminds one, though of course without any thought of influence, of the segregated sanctuaries in Spanish-Moorish mosques, such as Cordova. The plan of Utsh Sherifli in Adrianople is closely related to that of Ulu Djami, Manissa.

The minareh of the mosque with its glazed brick decoration is typical for this century. The earlier Seljuk mosque uses turquoise blue profusely for the decoration of its very tall minarehs. Yivli Minareh in Antalia, discussed below, belongs to this group. Eighth-century minarehs never reach the sublime heights of certain Seljuk minarehs. They are stockier, and they use not only turquoise-blue bricks but also cobalt-blue, green, and purple, which form a simple geometric "carpet" pattern over the surface of the minareh. The region studied in this report is particularly rich in minarehs of this type: besides Ulu Djami in Manissa, I may mention Ulu Djami in Birgeh (712 A.H.)

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[1] This is the best description of this type of cross-vaulting with heavy flat ribs of cut stone.

and Yechil Imaret in Tireh (735 A.H. [1334/5 A.D.]). Another striking example is the Yechil Djami in Isnik in which this type of minareh perhaps reaches its most beautiful realization.[1] Another interesting example is the Imaret Djami in Angora, built in 831 A.H. (1427/8 A.D.). In the spiral fluting of the minareh of this mosque, in addition to the above-mentioned colors, ochre-brown is introduced, which is quite in keeping with the introduction of this same color into tile work and fayence mosaic (mosque of Murad II, in Brussa) during the ninth century A.H. (fifteenth century of our era).

The medresseh follows the plan of later medressehs. The two-storied medresseh seems to have been especially in favor during the eighth century A.H., as a few examples will show. Goek Medresseh in Tokat (undated) belongs probably to the late seventh century. The Ak Medresseh in Nigdeh is a very late construction of the Karaman Oglu belonging to the ninth century A.H. The outside of this latter medresseh is almost of Seljuk appearance, while the interior courtyard reveals a strange Persian feeling. The inscription of the medresseh, however, bears the date 812 A.H. (1409/10 A.D.).[2] The medresseh of Ulu Djami, Manissa, has several unusual features. First of all, the three parallel liwans in the rear are unusual. In Goek Medresseh, Tokat, right and left of the rear liwan are placed two large vaulted chambers running at right angles to the axis of the liwan, one containing the mosque, and the other the main turbeh of the medresseh. Seljuk medressehs usually have square chambers with hemispherical domes on the sides of the rear liwan.

The wings right and left of the courtyard of the medresseh are not constructed symmetrically. To fill the left (western) wing with the passageway into the mosque and the turbeh of the founder, is a very happy solution, which shows that the architects of this period in no way felt obliged to stick to a once-developed formula and knew how to adapt themselves intelligently to new situations. Medressehs in which the asymmetry of plan is carried as far as in the present one are very rare. It is doubtful whether the asymmetry of Goek Medresseh in Tokat is original. It may be mentioned that asymmetry is one of the characteristic features of Syrian medressehs, while those of Egypt are almost rigorously symmetrical.

A similar combination of mosque and medresseh is found in Chouand Medresseh and Chouand Djami in Kaisarieh.

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[1] Built from 780 to 794 A.H. (1378/9 to 1391/2 A.D.).

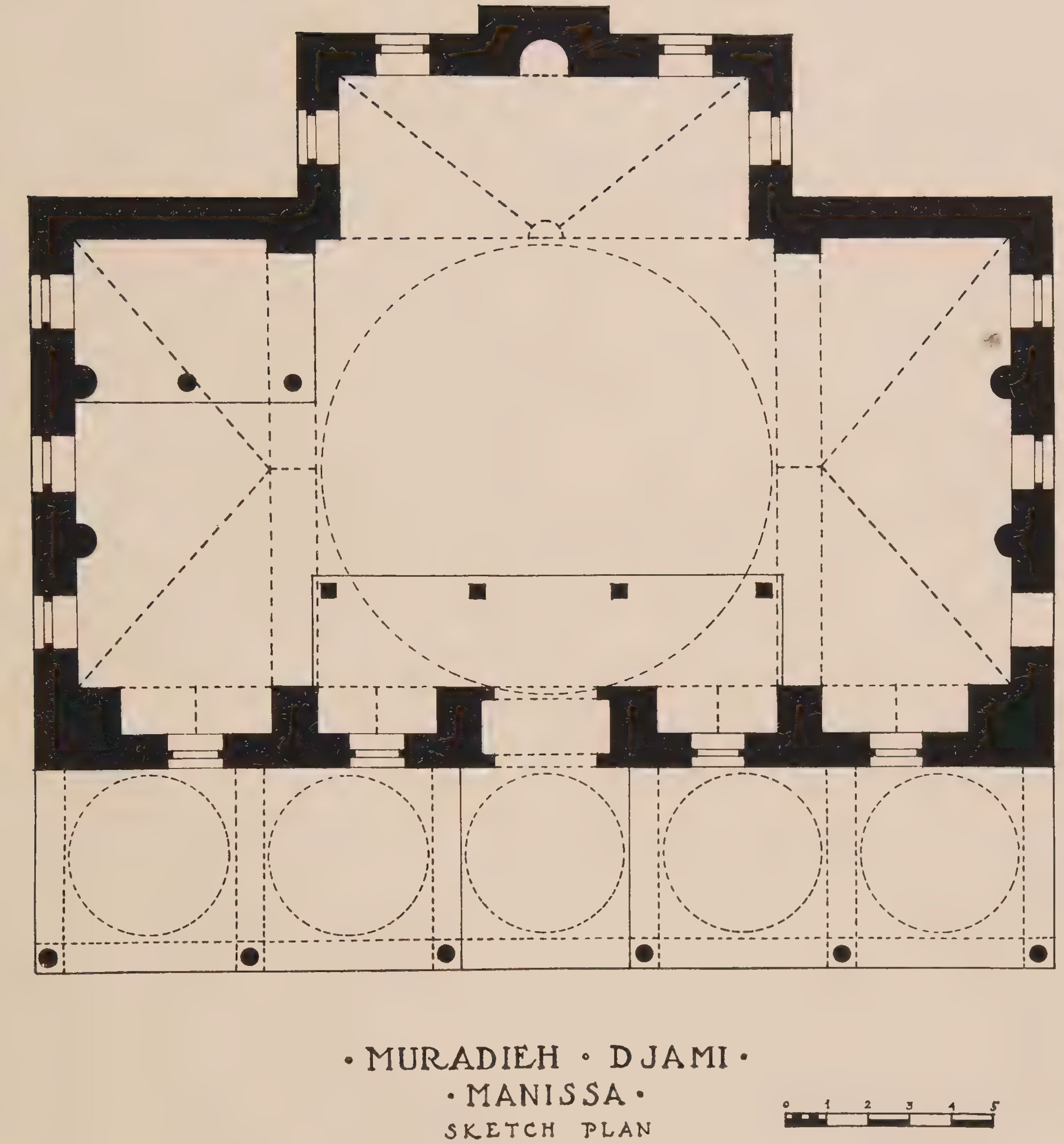
[2] W. Siehe attempts to prove in an article published in the *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* (1914), pp. 343–345, pls. 74–76 ("Das Räuchergefäss aus der Kirche des Hagios Stephanos von der Insel Nis in Egerdir See"), that the "Gothic" elements in the monuments of Nigdeh are autochthonous and are not influenced by Western Gothic art. He bases his argument on the early date of Ak Medresseh, which for reasons not stated he assigns to the period of "Sultan Alaeddin, early thirteenth century." This early date for Ak Medresseh is contradicted by the inscription, whereby his whole argument collapses. I am tempted to see Western influence, probably from Cyprus, in these strange "Gothic" elements in the architecture of Nigdeh.

Valideh Djami

There are several other important mosques in Manissa. North of the main street, northwest of Ulu Djami, is Valideh Djami. According to the inscription over the door it was probably built by the mother of Suleiman the Magnificent in the year 929 A.H. (1522/3 A.D.) (see inscription 32). This mosque comprises a whole complex of buildings. First the mosque itself (no. 10 of the sketch plan); the mosque has a courtyard (no. 11 of the plan), which is formed by a medresseh of not quite symmetrical layout. Straight west of this complex of buildings is another medresseh, of horseshoe shape (no. 13 of the plan). North of the medresseh is a timarhane, or insane asylum, of square plan (no. 14 of the plan). North of the mosque is a stately hammam (no. 15 of the plan), and, finally, northeast of the mosque is another building which also seems to have had the function of a medresseh (no. 12 of the plan).

This ensemble of buildings, grouped around the mosque, is a fine example of the manifold social functions of a mosque.

Valideh Djami itself is built of reddish stone. It is a massive, somewhat overhigh block, surmounted by a dome with octagonal drum resting on a square base in the center, with smaller domes on the sides. The porch consists of five domes supported by tall columns with stalactite capitals (Fig. 29). The mosque has two minarehs. The interior is not accessible, but in the porch are several interesting features. To right and left of the main entrance are two mihrabs to accommodate the overflow of worshippers. These niches have a frame of moulded stucco which is of unusually fine workmanship. The design of stems and arabesques is so delicate that it almost reminds one of an Early Renaissance pilaster design (Fig. 31). The spandrils of the prayer niche are decorated with painted floral ornament the date of which seems to coincide with that of the foundation of the mosque. The ornament shows a most delicate interlacing of maple-leaf-shaped palmettes and of rosettes sustained by slender stems. Similar decorations are found in Turkish textiles and tile decorations of the same century. As remnants of such polychrome decoration are rather rare, their registration is of importance (Fig. 30). The courtyard in front of Valideh Djami — as stated — is surrounded by three tracts of buildings, which, together with the mosque, form a rectangle. The court side of this construction shows an arcade surmounted by domes; behind this arcade are domed chambers. We find here, therefore, the combination of mosque courtyard and medresseh, which is not rare in Ottoman architecture. Another particularly fine solution of this combination is the mosque of Mehmed Sokollu Pasha in Stambul. Other examples are the mosque of Ishak Pasha in Inegoel (886 A.H. [1481/2 A.D.]) and the mosque of Ahmed Pasha in Stambul. It seems that down to the middle of the tenth (sixteenth A.D.) cen-


• MURADIEH • DJAMI •
• MANISSA •
SKETCH PLAN
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Drawn by Martin Charles

21. Manissa, Muradieh Djami (991–994 A.H.; 1583–1586 A.D.)

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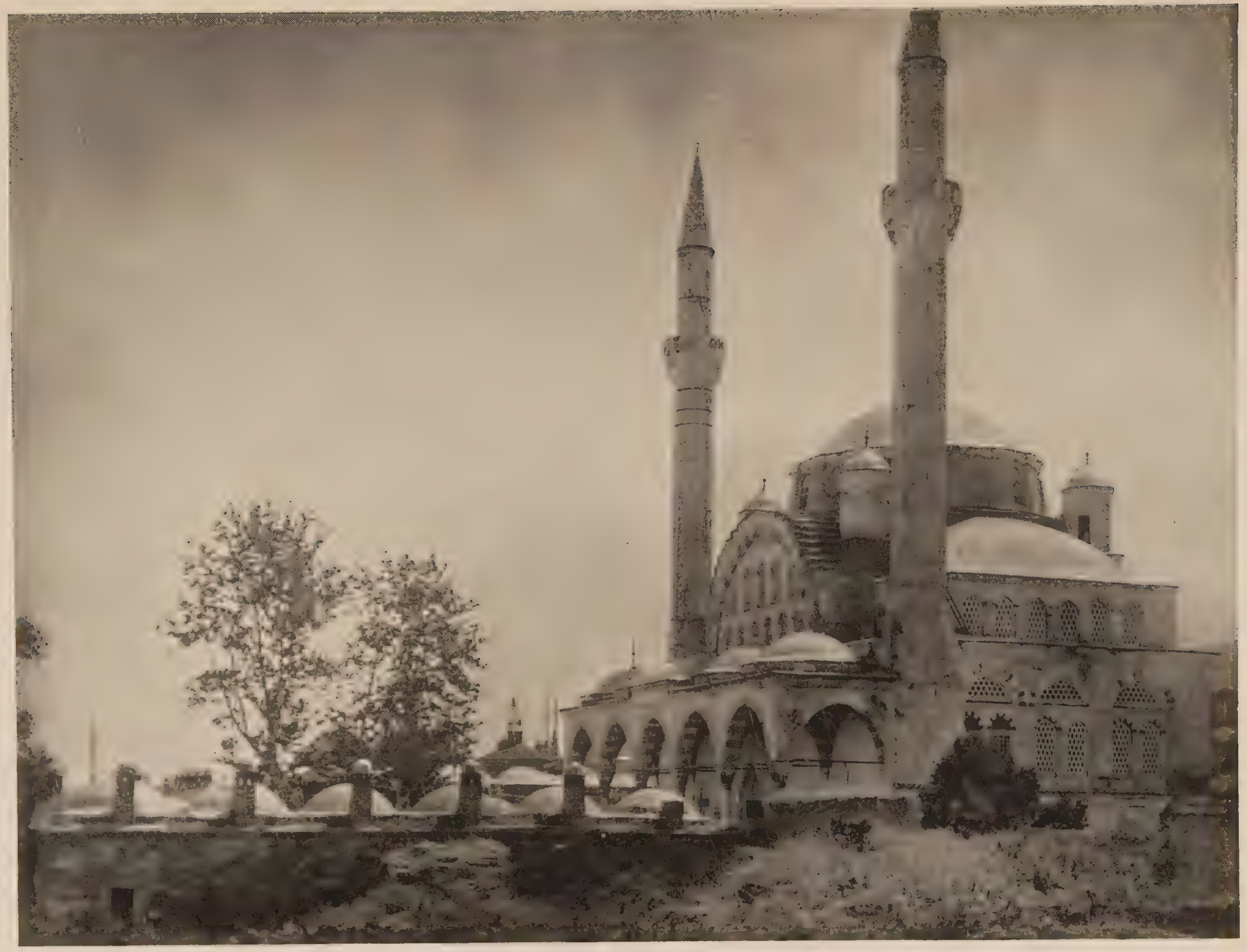

22. Manissa, Muradieh Djami: general view from northwest

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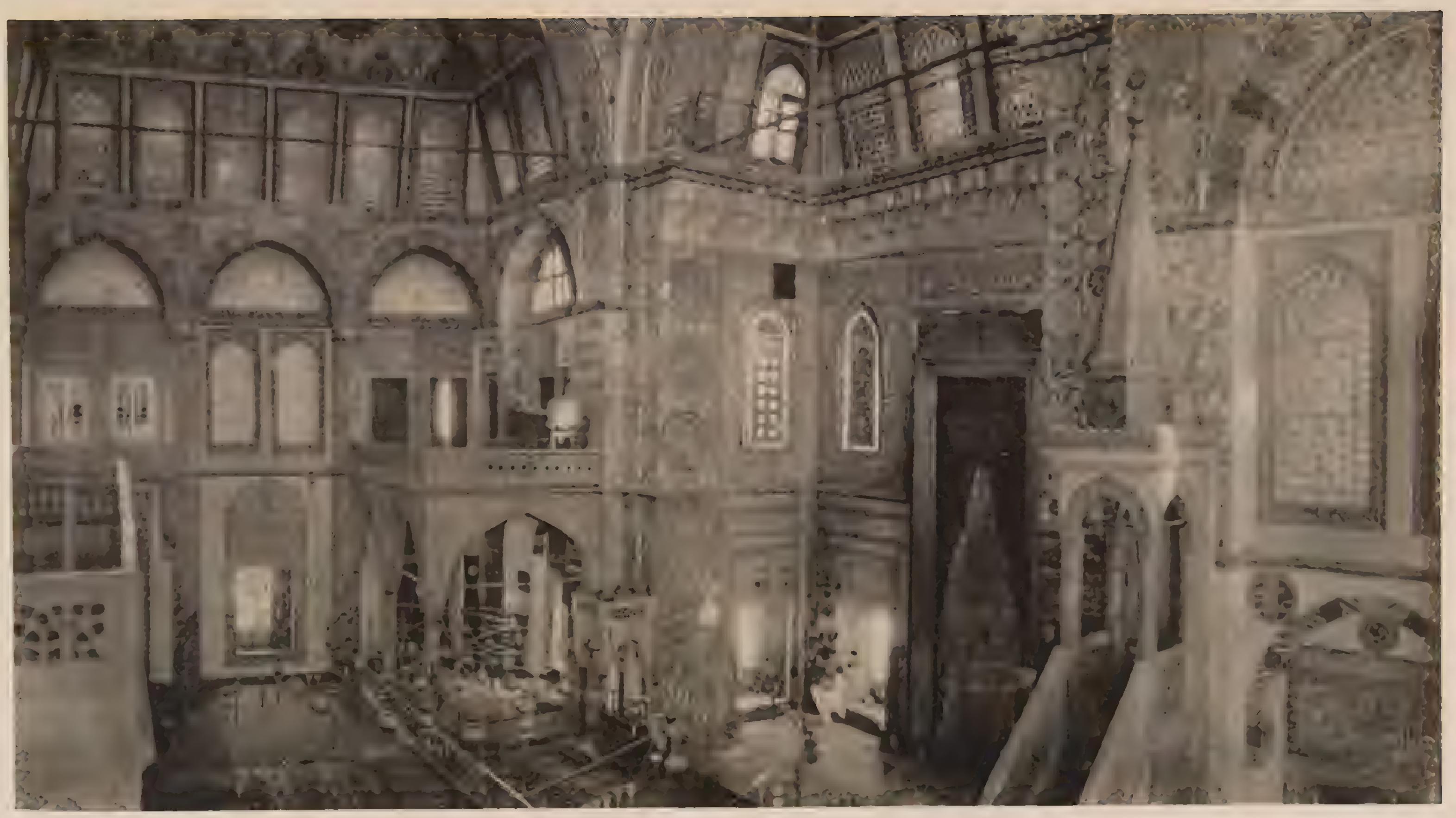

22*a*. Manissa, Muradieh: panorama of interior

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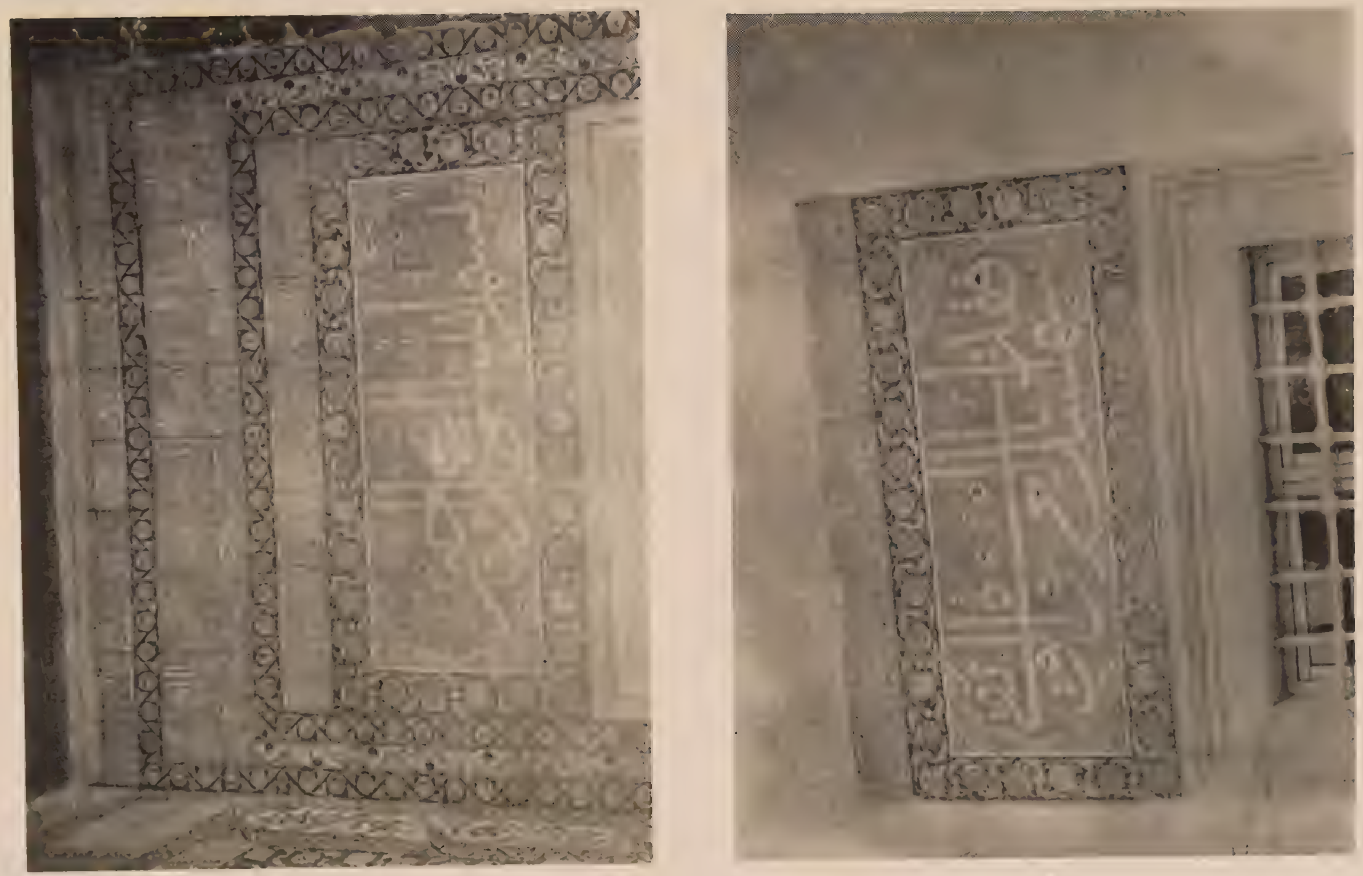

b　　*c*

22*b* and *c*. Manissa, Muradieh: tile decorations

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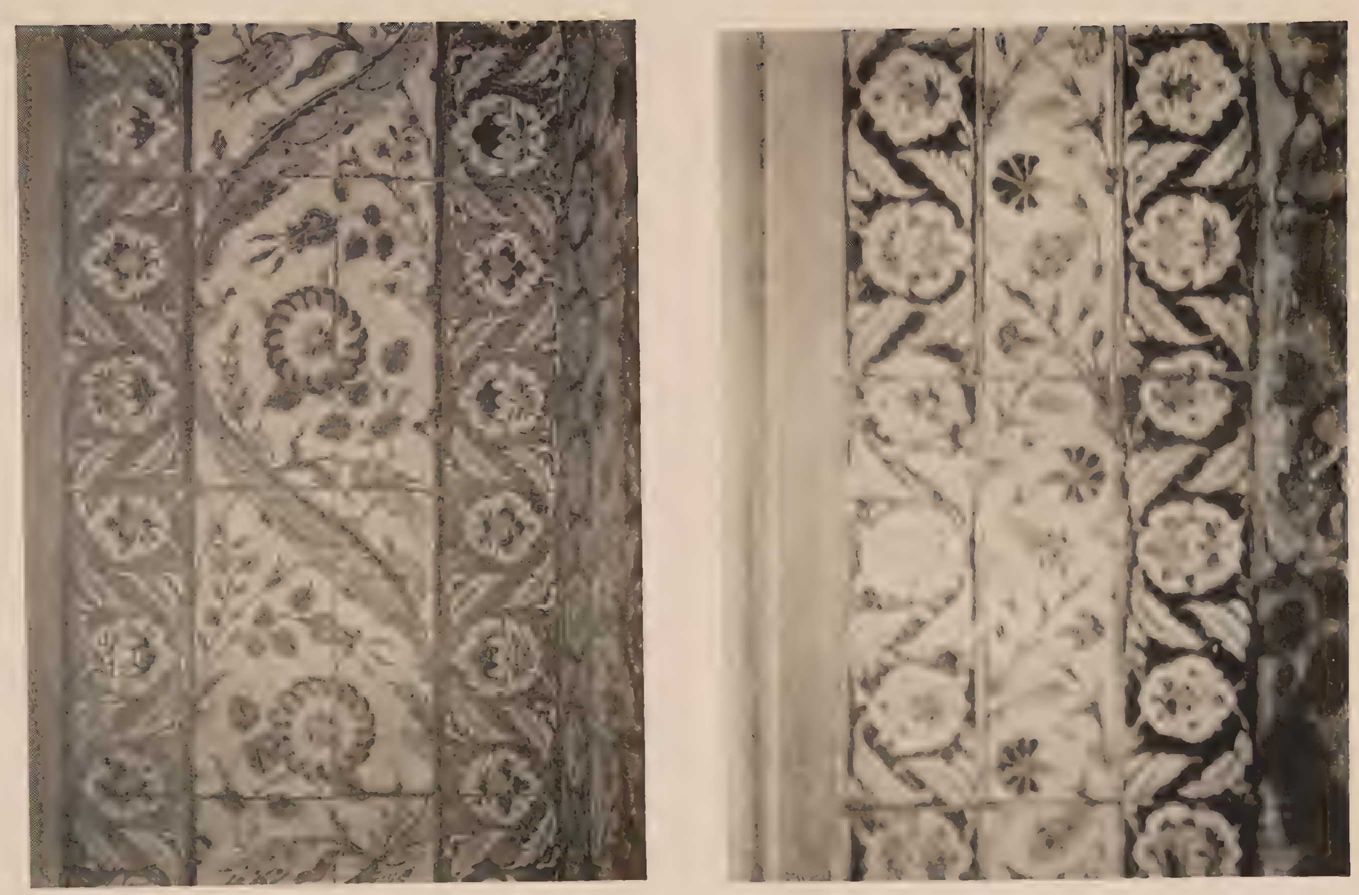

d *e*

22*d* and *e*. Manissa, Muradieh: tile decorations

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tury the courtyard in front of the mosque was as much the prerogative of the Sultan's mosque as was the right to construct two or more minarehs. Through the construction of a horseshoe-shaped medresseh in front of the north façade, as is the case in the two Stambul mosques and that of Inegoel, it is possible to put a courtyard in front of a mosque, which, according to the letter, is a combination of mosque and medresseh. In an Ottoman medresseh the position of the library, or kutubhane, is generally in the central axis, opposite the main entrance. But in the combination of mosque and medresseh the space which ought to be the main entrance is taken by the mosque. In Mehmed Sokollu a very clever solution is found by using the slope of the ground. The entrance is placed under the kutubhane, and both can be in the central axis. In Inegoel the kutubhane is in the central axis, and the entrance into the courtyard formed by mosque and medresseh is on the right and left of the mosque. In Valideh Djami, in Manissa, the kutubhane is placed at the southern end of the eastern wing of the mosque, while the entrance into the compound is in the center of the north tract of the medresseh.

The second medresseh (no. 13 of the plan) is of symmetrical plan. The main tract with the kutubhane in the center forms the southern part of the building. Lateral tracts with the cells of the students form the east and west wings. The north side is open, a very unusual feature, for intimacy and absence of noises are desirable in the yard of a medresseh. Perhaps a building, closing the courtyard toward the north, has been destroyed. This is the more probable since there is no inscription on this medresseh.

The timarhane has an inscription over the door, which I had no time to record. In accordance with its function it is a building with a rectangular court surrounded by the cells of the tenants.

The hammam has an inscription which I had no time to photograph. It is used as a storehouse and was not accessible. The third medresseh (no. 12 of the plan) is of no particular interest.

Muradieh Djami

The most important Ottoman mosque of Manissa is Muradieh Djami (no. 3 of the plan). This mosque was built by Sultan Murad III and not by Murad II, as is often assumed. The date of the inscription over the door is 991 A.H. (1583 A.D.) (see inscription no. 34). The mosque is listed among the works of the great architect Sinan.[1]

I visited Muradieh Djami again in 1929 and give herewith an exact description of this interesting mosque, and a sketch plan drawn by Mr. Martin A. Charles.

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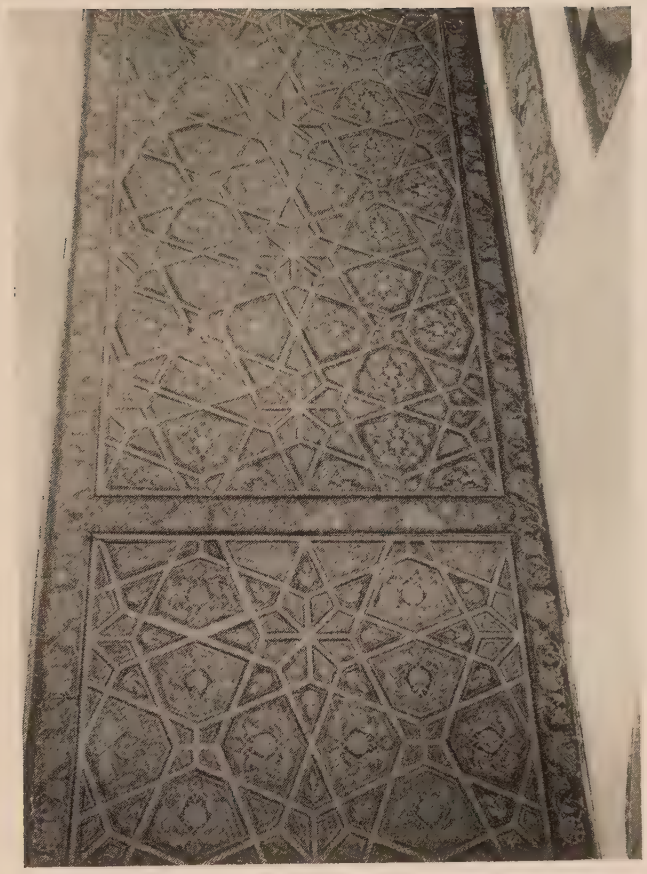
[1] Number 56 in the list of the works of Sinan given in Edhem Pasha, *Architecture Ottomane*, p. 83.

The plan of Muradieh Djami is simple. The center plan-compartment is occupied by a dome on spherical pendentives. Around the central square are grouped three abutting rectangular bays, one on the mihrab side, one on the east, and the third on the west side, while the north side has nothing but the five-domed porch. The high arch spanning the northern side of the central square encloses a filling wall with two rows of windows similar to the large bays on the east and west sides of Hagia Sophia and Suleimanieh in Stambul. The south bay is shallower than the east and west bays. They are all roofed in the same manner — instead of a semidome, which might be set on the rectangular plan by means of pendentives or squinches, we find here a conforming vault sitting right on the walls of the basic structure and bending in three curved planes meeting in groins and forming in their ensemble a substitute for a semidome. This form of vaulting cannot be called particularly pleasant, and the effect is made worse by the fact that the lower part of the curved surfaces is entirely filled by windows set one next to the other and appearing in an inclined position. First, the mosque has too many windows; second, these inclined windows seem to be somewhat against nature; third, this entire mode of ceiling is a sort of hybrid form and does not contribute to make the design of the mosque well-balanced. There cannot, however, be any doubt that this ceiling is the original one and has not been changed when, about eighty years ago, the mosque was subjected to extensive repair.

The plan of this mosque is unusual, if not unique. I do not know any other mosque of similar type. It seems to be a derivation of the Turkish plan of four semidomes grouped around a central dome, which we find first in Turkish architecture in Shah Zadeh, Stambul. This plan groups four semidomes around the central dome and fills the ground plan into a square by setting smaller domes in the four corners. In Iskeleh Djami in Scutari, built in 954 A.H., the semidome on the north side and the two flanking corner domes have been left out, and if in this same plan the two southern corner domes had also been suppressed, we would have a plan in principle similar to that of Muradieh. But in Iskeleh Djami, the flanking rectangular compartments are ceiled by semidomes on squinches instead of by the half-square dome vaulting employed in Muradieh.

The outside of the mosque, of course, reflects clearly the layout of the interior as described. The drum of the dome is of slightly tapering shape, a feature often observed in late sixteenth-century mosques. The four central piers are emphasized on the outside by octagonal "pill-boxes," which contain stairs leading to the roof. The design of the half-square domes is less disturbing on the outside, since what appears in the interior as curved surfaces is divided on the outside into a straight vertical story containing the windows and a curved leaden roof. Slanting surfaces are avoided. The northern façade is



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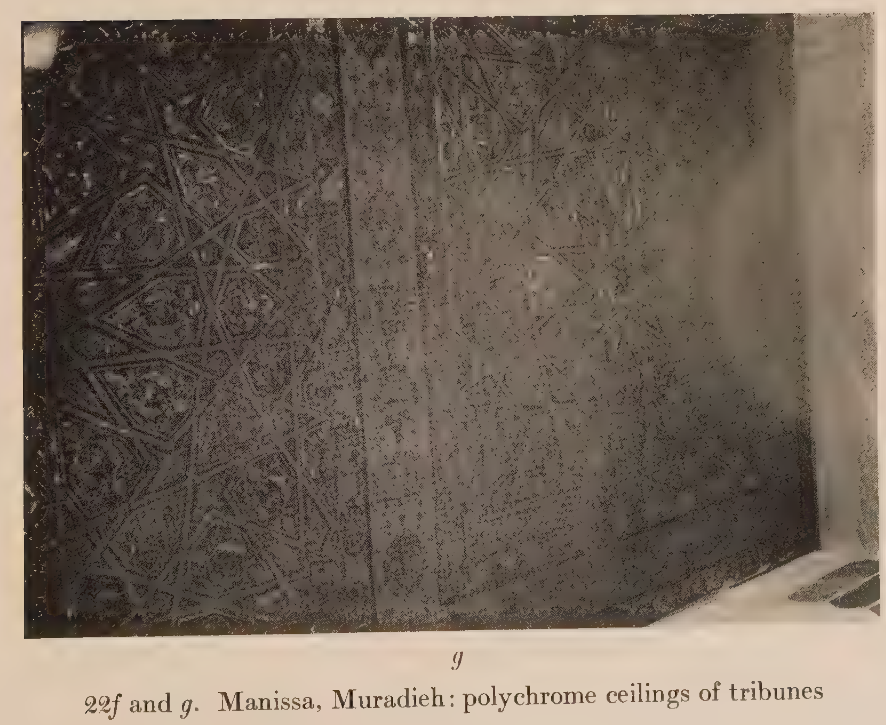

g

22*f* and *g*. Manissa, Muradieh: polychrome ceilings of tribunes

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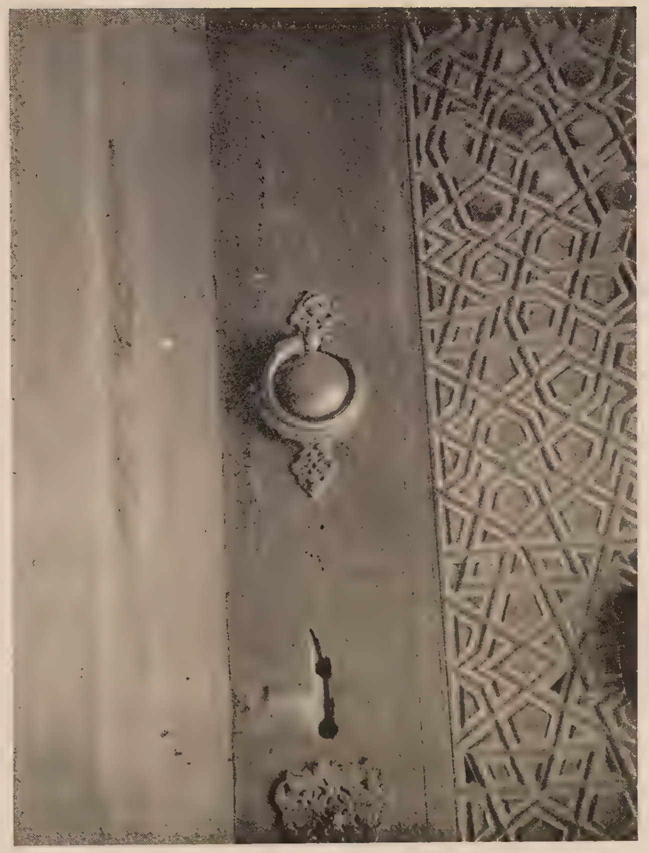
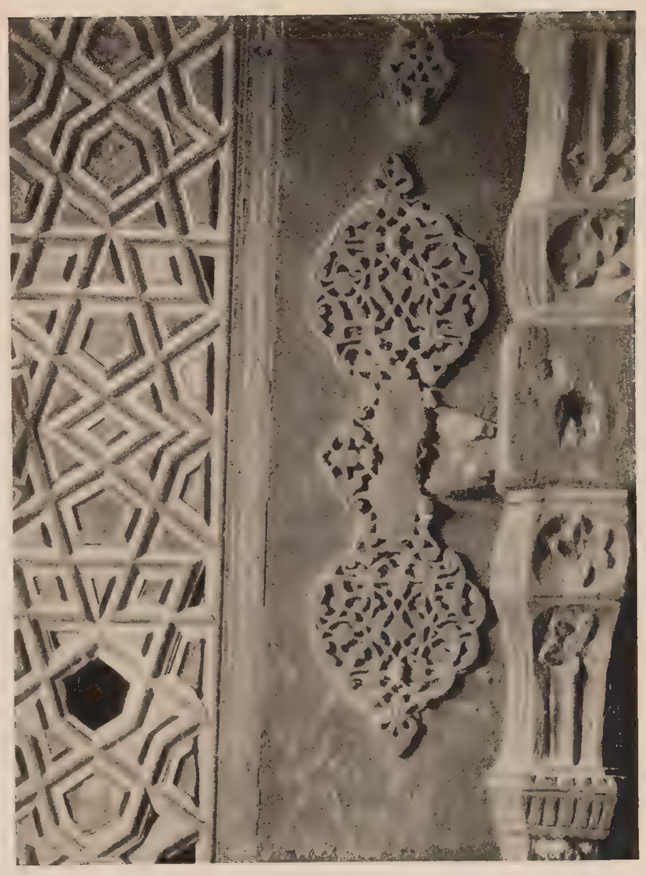


22h. Manissa, Muradieh: doorknocker, dragon design



22i. Manissa, Muradieh: main door, copper gilt openwork ornament

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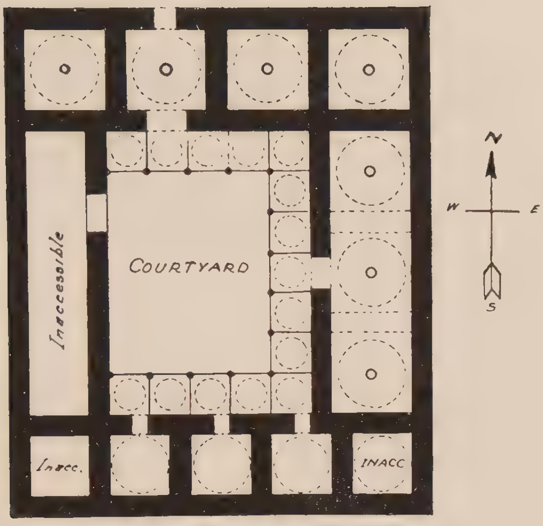
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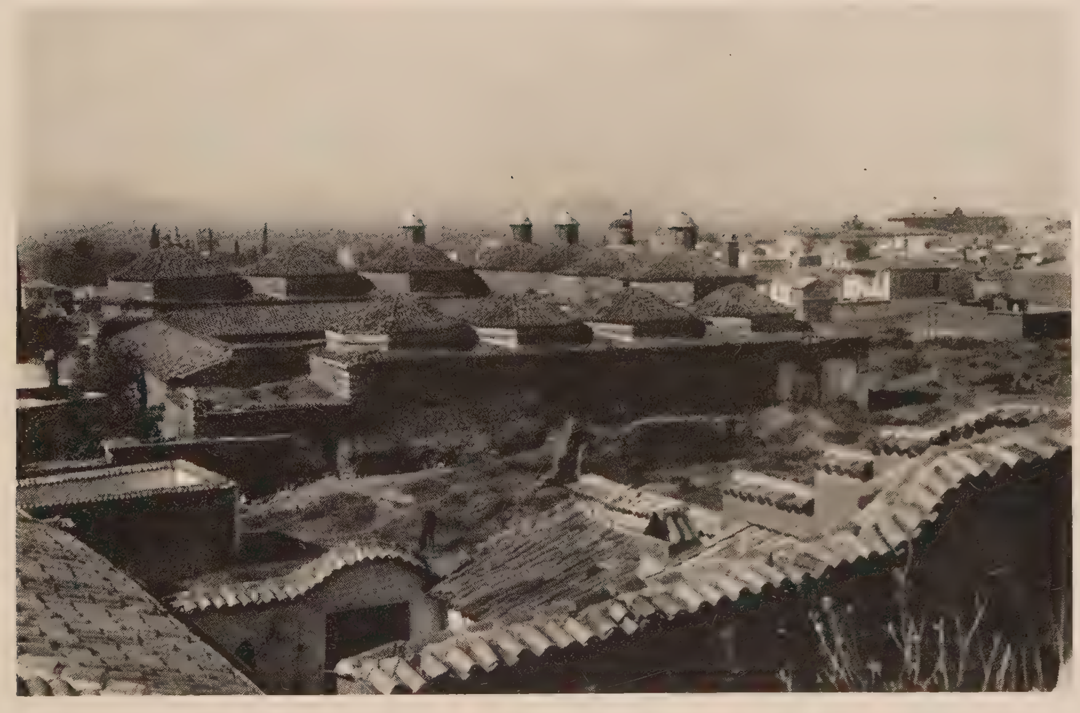
23. Manissa, Imaret of Muradieh Djami: sketch diagram of plan



23a. Manissa, Imaret of Muradieh Djami: seen from Ulu Djami

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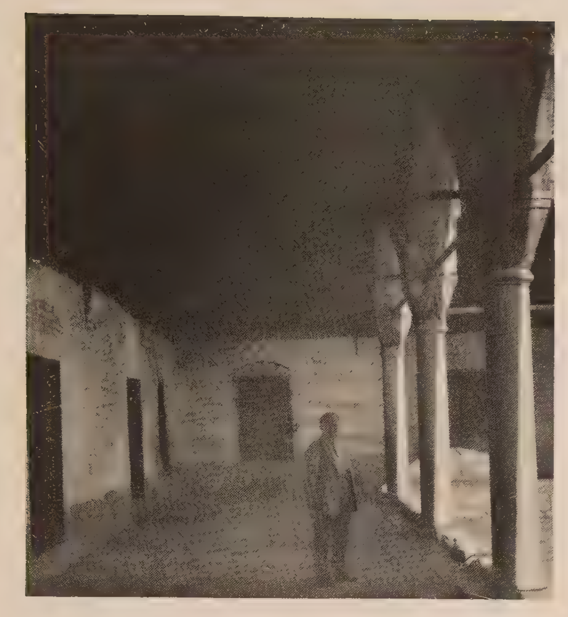
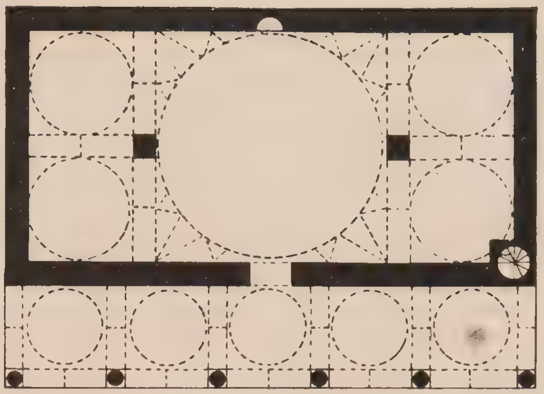
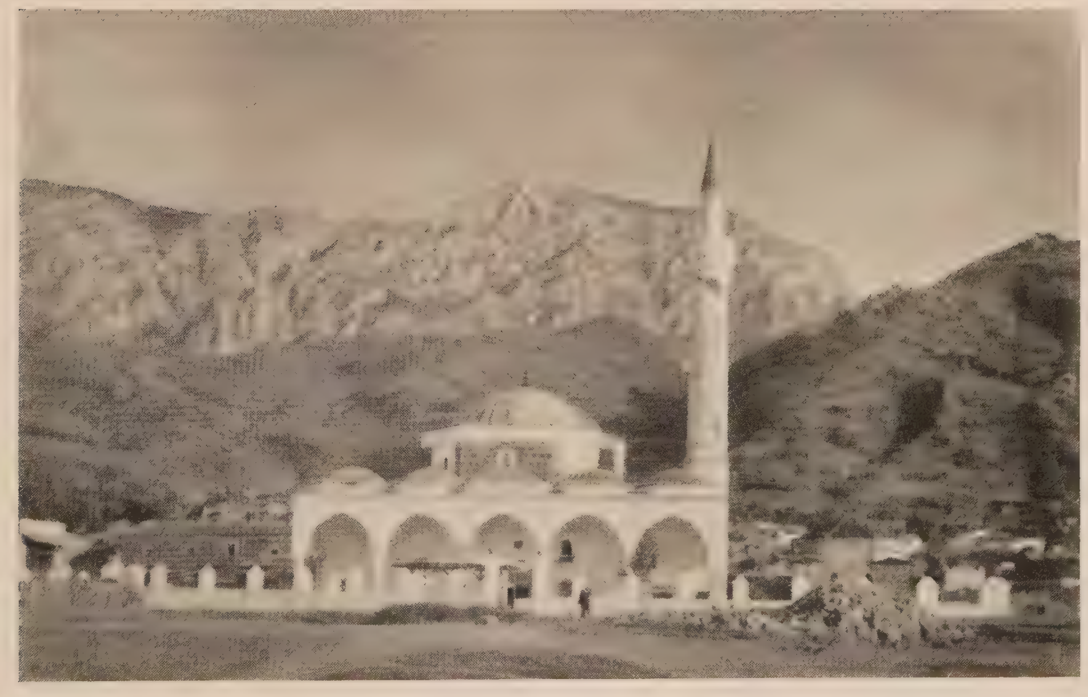


24. Manissa, Imaret of Muradieh Djami: arcade on north side



25. Manissa, Hatunieh Djami: sketch diagram of plan (894 A.H.; 1488 A.D.)



26. Manissa, Hatunieh Djami: general view

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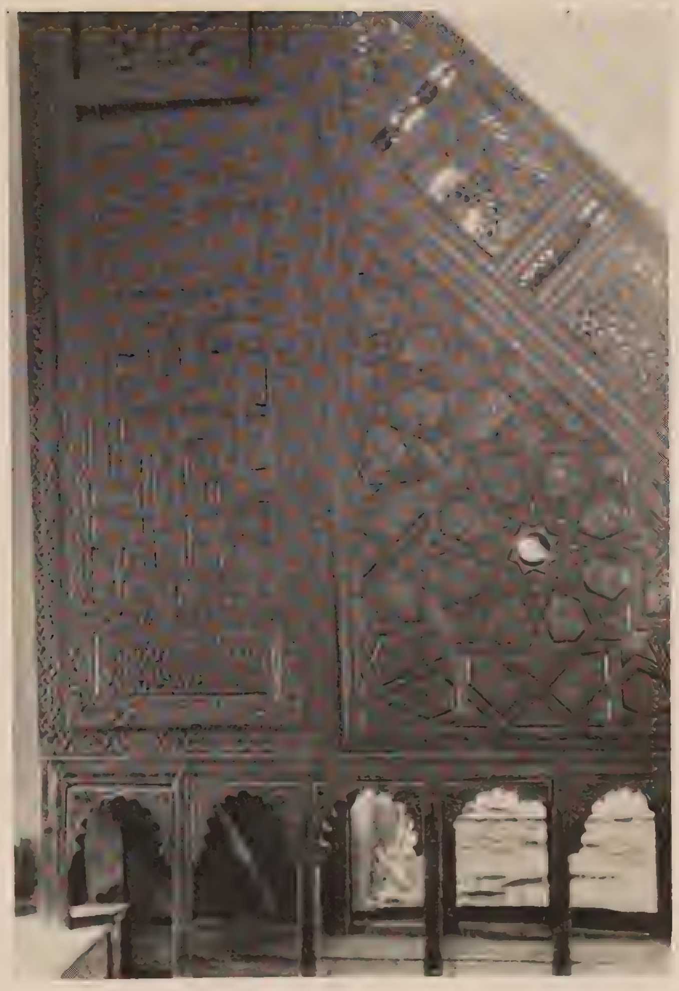
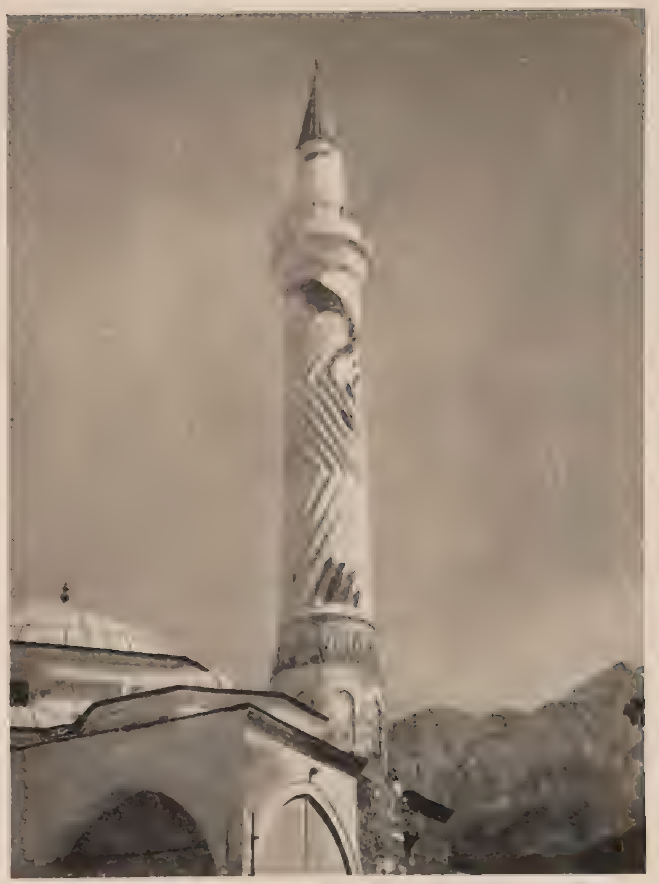


27. Manissa, Hatunieh Djami: minbar (dated 900 A.H.; 1495 A.D.)



28. Manissa, Hatunieh Djami: minareh with zigzag fluting

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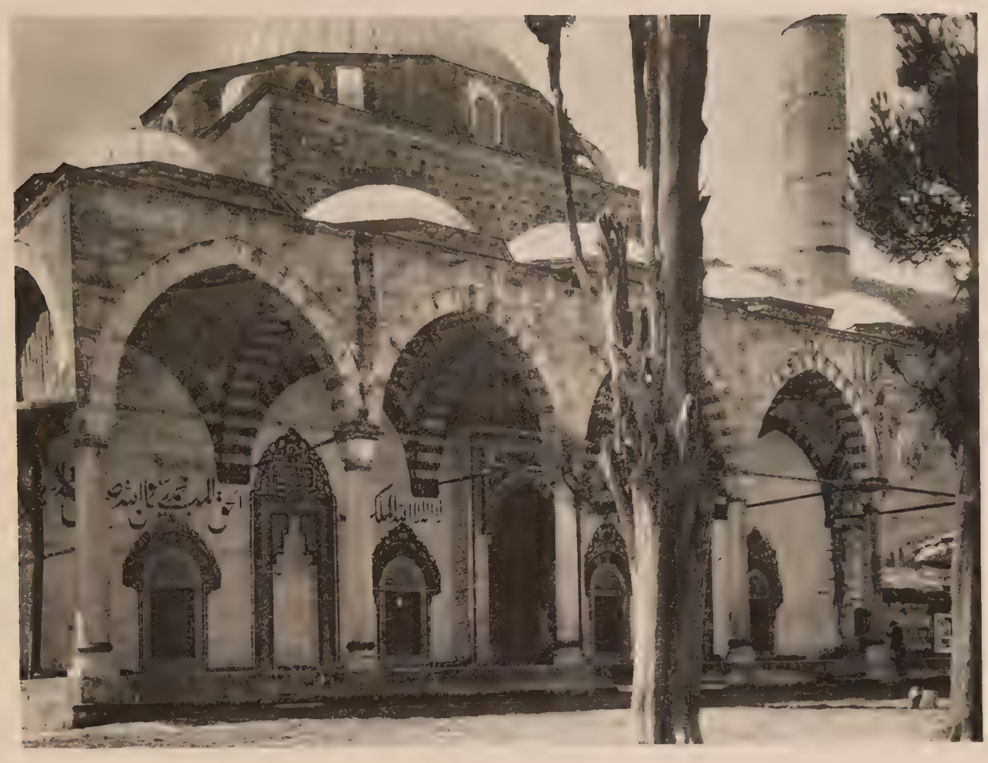
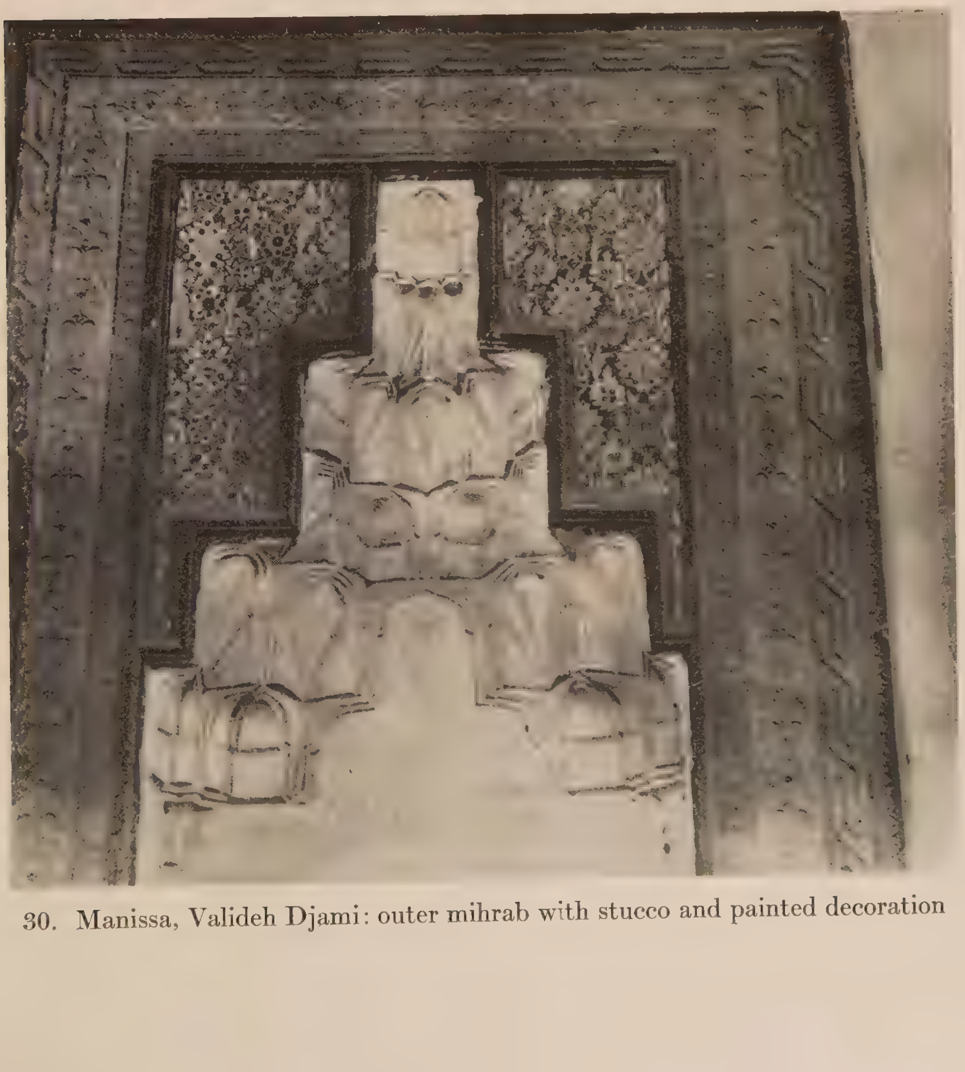


29. Manissa, Valideh Djami: general view (929 A.H.; 1522 A.D.)



30. Manissa, Valideh Djami: outer mihrab with stucco and painted decoration

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rather well built up with the two minarehs on either side of the large arch enclosing two rows of windows with the domes of the porch in front.

The design of the walls of the mosque inside and outside is rather successful, and has not much relation, if any, with the ceiling of domes and semi-domes above the main corners. Such a discrepancy is not rare in Ottoman architecture. It is rather striking in Rustem Pasha in Stambul. Inside and outside the walls are composed of shallow blind arcades with slightly pointed arches and supported by engaged columns with capitals chamfered in the corners. These shallow arcades enclose the windows, which are arranged in rows, the upper ones for lighting, the lower ones with shutters for ventilation. The design inside and outside is practically the same. Unfortunately, the pointed arch niches on top of the shallow arcades are also treated as windows, following the tendency of bringing as many windows as possible into the building, even at the expense of the design.

The interior of the mosque shows in the southeast corner a marble Sultan's loge supported by two columns with stalactite capitals. The north wall shows a similarly designed tribune all the way across, supported by similar columns, with a balustrade of marble openwork on tribune and ground floor. This balustrade forms on the ground floor a series of more intimate, slightly raised compartments, while the tribunes offer a reserved space for the women.

Several decorative features of the mosque are to be noted. The main glory of the mosque is the tile revetments, which decorate particularly the niche of the mihrab. They are executed in the finest coloring and design of the coral-red family. The design is organized in narrow stripes, generally two tiles wide. One design shows an undulated vine formed by a succession of beautifully designed serrated leaves (Fig. 22 *d*), the space in between filled with delicately designed sprays of conventionalized roses, rosebuds, almond flowers, and so forth. The whole is of perfect composition drawn with ease and mastery and executed in smooth colors of perfect brilliancy. The green border of this design is particularly pleasant. Another design (Fig. 22 *e*) shows undulated vines forming asymmetric ogives and sustaining rosebuds, carnations, "tiger-lily" flowers, and tulips. The borders of these tiles are of palmettes with attached serrated leaves on coral-red ground. My photograph of the second design is less successful than that of the first on account of almost unsurmountable difficulties caused by high-lights and reflections.

The spaces above the windows are decorated with cartouches containing very fine Neskhi writing (Fig. 22 *b*, *c*). I was not able to find any evidence as to the calligrapher. The fayence decoration extends also to the porch on the outside where the windows are also surmounted by rectangular panels with beautiful inscriptions on cobalt-blue ground, while the loops of the letters are coral-red. This ensemble of fayence decoration is in perfect state of preservation and one of the finest in Turkey.

Another important decorative feature of the mosque is the painted ceilings of the tribunes (Fig. 22 *f*, *g*). They are of perfect design, in perfect state of preservation, without restorations. The dominant colors are gold, red, and black. The design is of geometric interlacing enclosing ornamental compartments. The ceiling below the Sultan's tribune is divided into two square compartments with a polygonal star, while the ceilings below the north tribunes have an all-over design of interconnected geometrical stars. The compartments formed by the interlacing are filled with floral motifs. The floral motifs under the Sultan's tribune show predominantly serrated leaves and palmette flowers, without "Turkish" flowers, — the Turkish style of floral decoration before 1550, — while the ceiling under the tribune intermingles this decorative style with motifs belonging to the style of the "Turkish" flowers, which came in fashion around 1550. It is possible to criticize the balance of Turkish spacial composition, but as soon as the artistic effort is limited to the two dimensions, as in this beautiful surface decoration, we find perfection beyond criticism. There is another delightful polychromed panel in the soffit of the main entrance. I think these painted ceilings of Muradieh are about the finest which I know. Those of Ahmed Pasha in Stambul are coarser. The beautiful ensemble of Takedji Ibrahim Pasha in Stambul is now barbarously painted over with green paint, while a coat of brown massacred those of Rustem Pasha. The beautiful ceilings of the so-called Kiosk of the Koeprulu on the Bosphorus may be compared with those of Muradieh, but are already half destroyed, and what has remained in Mehmed Sokollu Pasha in Stambul cannot compare in quality with the decoration of Muradieh. The beautiful ceilings above the divans in Baghdad Kiosk in the Old Seraglio are of a later period.

The mosque, as it appears today is painted *al secco* with a decoration of various ornamental patterns in which a gay vermilion is emphasized. A similar decoration is found in the domes of the porch. The decoration of the central dome of the porch made me think for a moment that it might be the original decoration touched up. But I think that even this decoration must be assigned to a complete pictorial redecoration of the mosque executed about one hundred years ago. The ensemble is very gay, very picturesque, but one glance at the old ceiling shows that it is of a later and decadent style, although it shows not the Italianizing baroque vulgarity of the mosques of Stambul.

The shutters of the windows of the mosque are of very simple workmanship. The double door of the main (north) entrance is, however, a fine specimen of Turkish woodwork of the late sixteenth century. Each wing is divided into three compartments with geometric interlacing of an intricate all-over pattern. The three compartments are separated by a row of five rosettes in fine metalwork. The cartouches formed by the interlacing are filled with inlay of metal mosaic in the genre of the well-known Persian Katemkari work, and a similar inlay of metal wire forms a fret-pattern around each panel. The main panel has in the center a boss also covered with geometric interlacing. The overlapping shaft of the door is richly carved. Each wing has a ring-shaped door-knocker of gilt bronze of very curious design (Fig. 22 *h*), which is suspended from a richly ornamented cartouche. The two ends of the ring touching the pivot to which the ring is attached are in the shape of a dragon's head. This is an old Seljuk design. We find it already on the door-knocker designed by Al-Jazari for the palace gate of Diarbekir. A specimen of such a door-knocker of the thirteenth century is in the Berlin Museum.[1] Below the door-knockers are two gilt-bronze openwork *appliqués* of rich arabesque design. Two oval medallions are connected by a vertical bar having a delicate Neskhi inscription in Persian with the pious wish, "Be it blessed; be it joyful; be it happy" (Fig. 22 *i*). The double door fits into an elaborate doorway, the outer arch of which consists of a segmental arch sustained by ornamented corbels on either side. If the doors are opened they fit exactly into a recess between the outer and inner arch, the latter consisting of an elaborate ogee arch. Between these two arches is a third segmental arch of dentelled design. I have described this gateway with so much detail in order to show how a decorative ensemble such as this gateway was studied and worked out with collaboration of stone-carver, woodworker, and bronze-founder, their energies being of course coördinated by the intelligent effort of a designer.

The main door of the mosque is not the only place in which elaborate stonework is displayed. The pointed arches of practically all the windows and the recessed arches are executed in voussoirs of alternating colors, red and white, the red of a rather friable stone. The same coloristic effect is used for a rope molding which separates the lower row of windows from the upper. The side doors are surmounted by panels with carved inscriptions of excellent calligraphy set above the segmental arches with joggled polychrome marble voussoirs. The whole is framed by a rectangle with most elaborate molding recalling Byzantine doorways. In a certain number of windows the pointed-arch panels above the rectangular window openings are filled with elaborate openwork formed by an interlacing of two all-over systems of hexagons and smaller octagons. Such openwork used for window screens is characteristic of the late sixteenth century. It appears in Stambul in the mosques of Azab Kapu, Mesich Pasha, Kilidj Ali Pasha, all mosques belonging to this period.

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[1] See R. M. Riefstahl, "The Date of the Automata Miniatures," *Art Bulletin* (1929), where further literature is indicated (page 10 of the reprint).

The minarehs show a fluted effect produced by façetting of the shaft framed by raised lines forming an ornamental pattern at top and base. The balconies have fine stalactite corbelling and openwork balustrades similar to the window-arch panels.

Summarizing my general impression of this mosque, it seems that the planning of the mosque shows already certain weaknesses of general conception and design, which appear also in other monuments of this fairly late period. But the decorative work, tiles, stone-carving, metal work, and wood-carving are of first quality.

The courtyard of the mosque is formed by a medresseh, just as in Valideh Djami. East of the mosque is an independent kutubhane, or library. I have been told a good deal about the manuscripts it contained. But a close examination showed that besides a rather mediocre Moghrebi manuscript, two good sixteenth-century Korans in thirty sections each, and a not very important Kasvini, the library contains nothing of importance from the angle of history of art. Further east are two more medressehs of the usual Ottoman plan. The kutubhane of the second medresseh (no. 5 of the plan) is situated on the south side of the court-yard, to the right of the main entrance, which is in the west wall. The arcaded courtyard contains a few Byzantine capitals, coming evidently from the same building as some capitals in Ulu Djami, which are of identical design (see Fig. 19 *a*). I have not examined the third medresseh (no. 6 of the plan). The imaret (no. 7) is a fine piece of architecture, which may well be the work of the great Sinan. It suggests at once the beautiful Imaret of Hasseki Hurrem in Stambul built by the same master (Figs. 23, 23 *a*).

The plan of the imaret is not symmetrical (Fig. 23). The entrance on the north side leads into a courtyard with arcades on the north, east, and south sides. The arcades are supported by slender columns with prismatic capitals. The lower part of the masonry of the arcades is executed in well-laid cut stone alternating with rows of bricks, but the upper part is constructed in rough layers of field stones. This arouses the suspicion of later reconstruction. The east tract of the building, too, shows irregularities which seem to be deviations from an original plan. The rooms containing the kitchen of the imaret are surmounted by domes with lanterns, and the other parts of the building are surmounted by ordinary domes on octagonal tambours.

Hatunieh Djami

In the vicinity of the Konak, is Hatunieh Djami. According to the inscription over the door it was built in 894 A.H. (1488/9 A.D.) (see inscription no. 33; Fig. 26).

The plan of Hatunieh Djami is of a type that occurs during the ninth and tenth centuries A.H. (fifteenth and sixteenth of the Christian era). A central dome on Turkish triangles forms the center of a rectangular plan which is extended to right and left by a group of two smaller and lower domes (Fig. 25). The plan of Hatunieh Djami is exactly that of Atik Ali Pasha in Stambul, minus the apse, which in the latter mosque is formed by a semidome above the mihrab. The porch of the mosque is supported by columns with probably Middle Byzantine capitals, which are decorated on each of the four sides with five bosses (Fig. 17). On the west side of the mosque are several Byzantine capitals lying on the ground, among them more specimens of this type, which occurs also in the collection of Byzantine capitals of the Smyrna Museum. The walls of the mosque — now unfortunately partly covered by a disfiguring whitewash — were originally built in a quite elaborate alternation of layers of brick with well-cut stone. The west side of the mosque shows the original condition of the masonry. There is even a rather charming ornamental field in which brick forms an interlaced pattern on the background of stone.

The minareh of the mosque is typically Ottoman with the zigzag fluting produced by the brick construction. In Ottoman architecture we know two kinds of fluted minarehs: the spirally fluted and the zigzag fluted. The spirally fluted minareh is found among others in Perwaneh Bey Djami in Amasia, in Hatunieh Djami in Afiun Karahissar, in Utsh Sherifli Djami in Adrianople, in Bodrum Djami in Stambul, in another small mosque north of Shahzadeh in Stambul, and in Imaret Djami in Angora. The latter seems to be the earliest example, since it is dated 831 A.H. Spirally fluted Seljuk minarehs have as yet not been observed (the one of Perwaneh Bey Djami in Amasia is a later reconstruction).

The minareh with zigzag fluting is rarer and occurs in the present mosque and in another rather interesting example in Tireh (see below). Zigzag fluting is, however, observed as early as the early eighth century A.H. It occurs on one of the minarehs of the mosque of Mohammad en-Nasir in the citadel in Cairo.

A third variety of this type of minareh seems to have been in favor about 150 years ago: the minareh is tall, cylindrical, and plain, but the base and top show a zone with spiral fluting. Several specimens of this type may be observed in Stambul in the vicinity of Top Kapu.

The furnishings of the mosque are interesting: there is first a carved minbar with the date of 900 A.H. (1495 A.D.) (see inscription no. 33; Fig. 27). This minbar is still in the Seljuk tradition, but if we compare the rather shallow carving of this minbar with the masterpieces of an earlier age we can see how the tradition has degenerated. The usual minbar of the tenth and later centuries A.H. is stone-built. Well-executed wooden minbars of this or a later period are exceedingly rare. There is the polychromed minbar in the Ulu Djami in Tokat, which, however, has no floral or other ornamental carving.

The minbar of Hadji Bairam in Angora is very interesting with its delightful painted floral decoration, similar to that of painted ceilings or panelings of the same period. Both may safely be assigned to the eleventh century A.H. (seventeenth of the Christian era).

Stone-built minbars are the rule in Constantinople; the one in Eski Muradieh in Adrianople seems to be one of the earliest specimens in Turkey.

There are several well-illuminated early Ottoman Korans in the mosque. I also noticed a rather beautifully swinging calligraphy, signed Yahya bin Osman and dated 1257 A.H.

Further Buildings in Manissa

Walking from the imaret of Muradieh towards the Konak, one passes by a besestan which seems to be a well-built construction with entrances in the middle of all four sides. The plan is rectangular. The interior seems to be a long, vaulted hall. I could not gain access to this building (no. 20 of the plan). Further east of the besestan is a large and well-built Ottoman Han of the usual approximately square plan (no. 19 of the map).

On the way from the Konak to Valideh Djami one passes by an old cemetery with many rather fine tombstones. In this cemetery is a turbeh, now shockingly dilapidated, containing a great number of tombs, presumably the turbeh to which Hammer refers.[1]

On the west end of main street, to right and left, one sees several mosques of minor importance, the porches generally decorated with classic or Byzantine capitals. Among them I noticed the mosque of Hadji Yahya with an inscription of 789 A.H.(1387 A.D.) (see inscription no. 35).

The study of the city of Manissa reveals one surprising fact: since it was the preferred city of Murad II, one definitely expects to find here buildings of his period, and the name of Murad II again and again is attached to the mosque of Murad III. So far as I know there is not a single important building in Manissa dating from the period which was the most brilliant in its history.

II. Monuments of Birgeh

The Valley of the Kutchuk in Menderez

The port of Smyrna does not command access to any large valley. The fact that Smyrna is not situated on any large river saved its port from being gradually filled up. This filling-up makes the ports unusable, creates swamps which in their turn produce malaria and lead to the depopulation of formerly prosperous centers, such as Miletus or Ephesus. The two valleys north and south of Smyrna are that of the Gediz Tchai (Hermus) and that of the Cayster (Kutchuk Menderez, little Maeander). The delta of the Hermus is in the gulf of Smyrna, northwest of Smyrna. It could not affect the depth of Smyrna harbor. The delta of the Kutchuk Menderez is marked by the site of Ephesus. The big Seljuk city in the hinterland of the Hermus is Magnesia. The Seljuk cities in the hinterland of the Kutchuk Menderez are Tireh, in the southern part of the valley, and Birgeh on the northern slope. Like almost all Seljuk cities, both are situated not in the valley itself but halfway on the sloping mountains, for reasons stated previously. The mountain range separating Smyrna and the Gediz Tchai valley from the Kutchuk Menderez consists of several sections: first, beginning at the east, the range consisting of the Boz Dagh (Tmolus) and the Mahmud Dagh (Draco); then follows a deep cut through which runs the Aidin railroad, after which the chain of mountains is continued westward by the Kyzyk Dagh and ends in a wide peninsula which, after a stretch of the Aegean sea, continues as the islands of Chios and Psara.

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[1] Hammer, *Hist. Emp. Ottoman*, II, 316; German edition, I, 465.

Birgeh and Tireh have not had a fair share of the progress of recent days. In line with modern needs a new city, the prosperous city of Oedemish, has been established at the bottom of the valley. It is easily accessible by railroad and has taken commerce away from the two old Seljuk towns.

The City of Birgeh

The city of Birgeh can be reached by the branch of the Ottoman railroad which taps the Kutchuk Menderez Valley. It has one branch running to Oedemish, another to Tireh. Birgeh is reached from Oedemish by automobile on a comfortable road in about 30 minutes.

Birgeh suffered badly from the Greek invasion. Among the many houses burnt were — so I am told — a number of fine old ones similar to that described below. The not very important medresseh next to Ulu Djami has also been destroyed, but the mosque itself as well as the turbeh of the Aidin Oglu has escaped.

Birgeh was one of the cities belonging to the domain of the Aidin Oglu (as will be indicated later, no monuments of this dynasty have been preserved in their capital, Aidin). It is pleasantly situated on the slopes of the Boz Dagh. It has splendid water, and the fountain near the Ulu Djami furnishes a particularly refreshing ice-cold water. The city is situated right and left of a little stream coming from the mountain, which dries up in summer. To the east of this stream is a hill on which the Ulu Djami is situated. This hill still shows traces of fortification; here was the "Kaleh" of the town (Fig. 42). East of the brook was the main quarter of the town, now mostly burnt down, but fortunately one fine old private house of the early eighteenth century has been preserved.

Besides these monuments the city contains several unimportant mosques, among them the Kara Oglu Djami of 1170 A.H. and the Dervish Agha Djami, which I left unstudied for lack of time.

The Ulu Djami of Birgeh

The Ulu Djami of Birgeh is of great interest as it is earlier than the Ulu Djami of Manissa, and at the same time offers certain points of comparison with the latter important building. It is a building of rectangular plan. The total height of its façade is taken by a neatly whitewashed porch, showing a row of eight columns, connected by semicircular arches (Fig. 33). The whole is graceful and simple, but on account of the whitewash it is not possible to make any statement about what is old and what might be of later construction. The porch has a timber roof slanting from the wall of the mosque towards the yard. The front walls cannot be examined on account of a thick coat of whitewash. The gateway into the mosque shows a rectangular moulded frame with inscriptions, and a panel with a historic inscription over the door recording the foundation of the mosque in the year 712 A.H. (1312/3 A.D.) (inscription no. 18). There is nothing very remarkable in the design of this doorway.

Entering the mosque, we find it divided into five aisles running from north to south, the center aisle being slightly wider than the other four (Fig. 32). The aisles are divided by arcades; in each arcade four slender columns support a row of six arches, which are semicircular with perhaps a tendency toward a slightly ovoidal shape (Fig. 34).

Everything is covered by a coat of whitewash which makes examination of the columns difficult. The capitals are very curious. Some of them show first a plain drum-shaped zone and then a second zone, with flutings, which gradually spreads towards the top and gives the capital the graceful aspect of a calyx. On the top of the calyx is laid a square abacus and then a very low impost. Wulff [1] notes that these flutings used for cornices and capitals are characteristic of the fourth century. Other capitals are of similar calyx shape but without any fluting, and to them may be compared the capitals of the porch which offer a still more simplified version of this second type.

The two inner arcades are slightly higher than the two outer arcades. The center aisle is covered by a timber-built saddle roof, while the two aisles on each side are covered with slanting pulpit roofs of timber construction, the whole almost giving the aspect of a basilica, and making, with its clean whitewash, undecorated, the impression of something graceful, lofty, and dignified. Whether or not the timber is original, will be difficult to prove. However, it is not probable that the original construction differed much from the present one.

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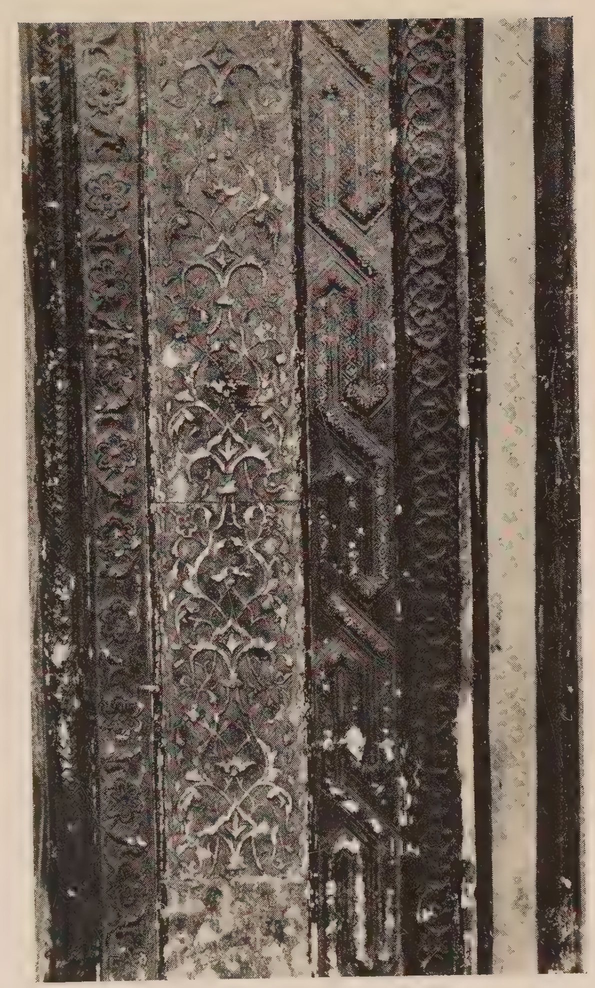
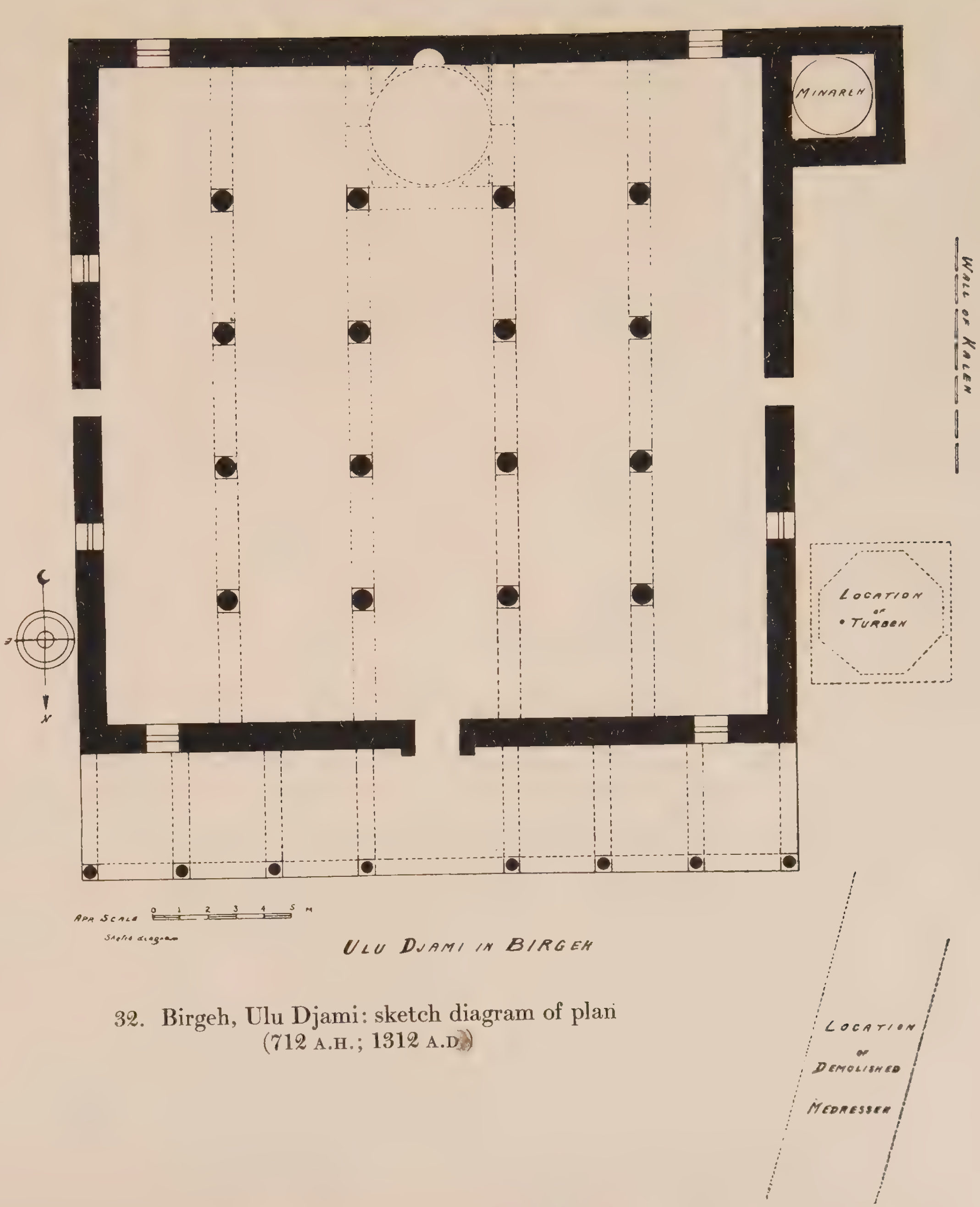
[1] *Altchr. und Byz. Kunst*, p. 274, pl. XII.



31. Manissa, Valideh Djami: stucco decoration of outer mihrab


Minareh
Wall of Kaleh
Location of Turbeh
Location of Demolished Medresseh
APH Scale 0 1 2 3 4 5 m
Sketch diagram
Ulu Djami in Birgeh
N

32. Birgeh, Ulu Djami: sketch diagram of plan (712 A.H.; 1312 A.D.)

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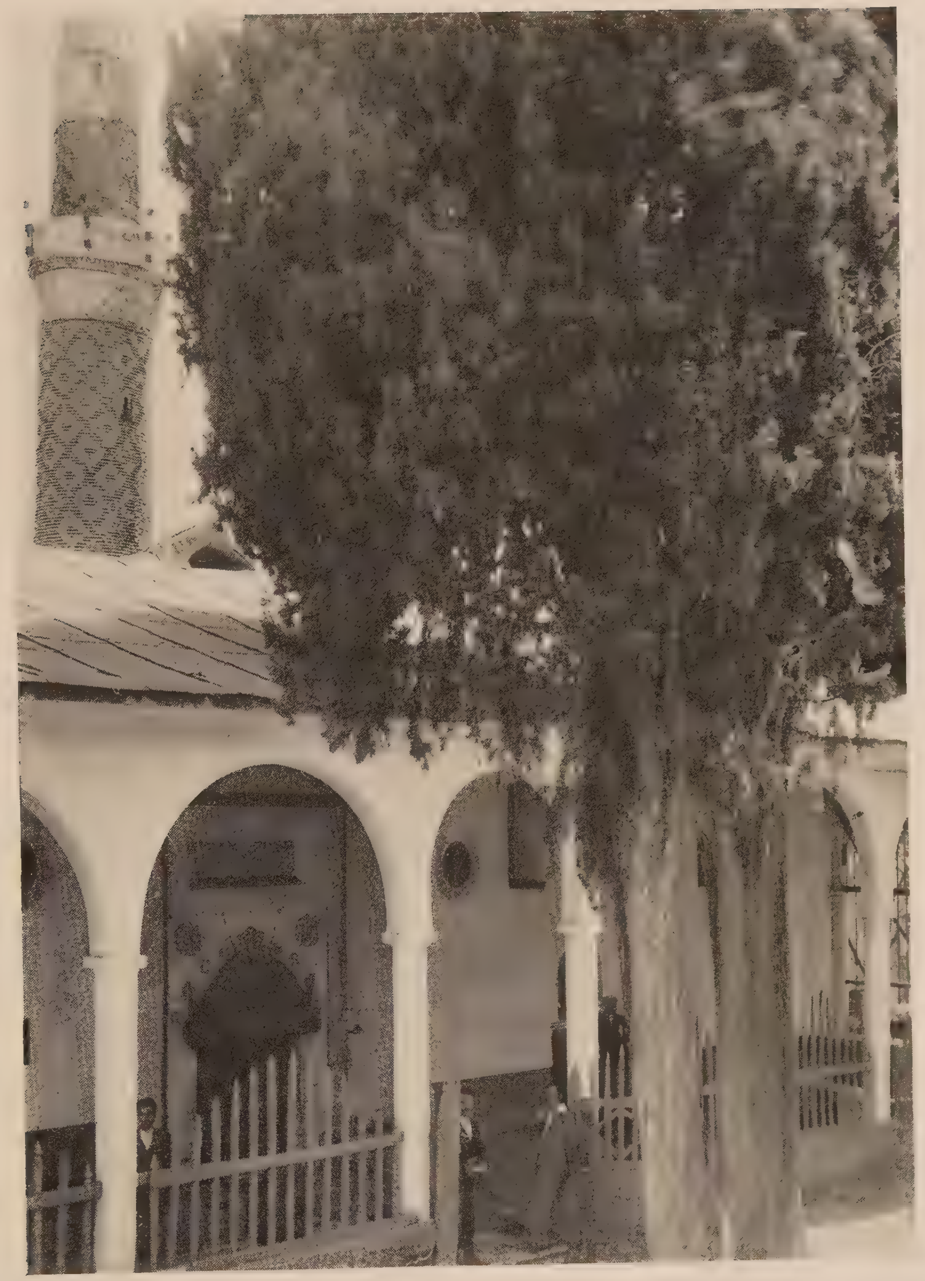
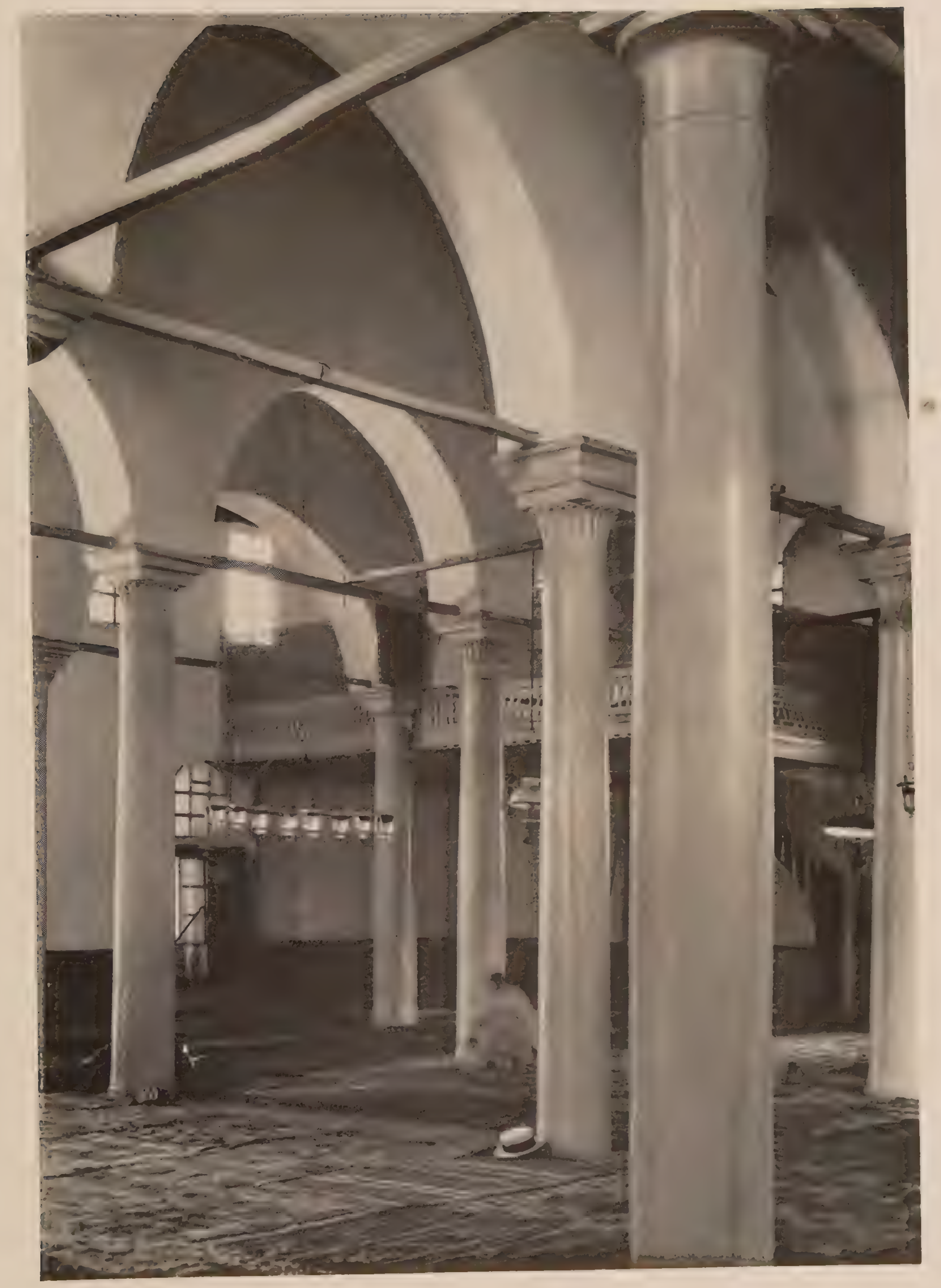


33. Birgeh, Ulu Djami: façade of mosque with minareh



34. Birgeh, Ulu Djami: interior seen from southeast corner

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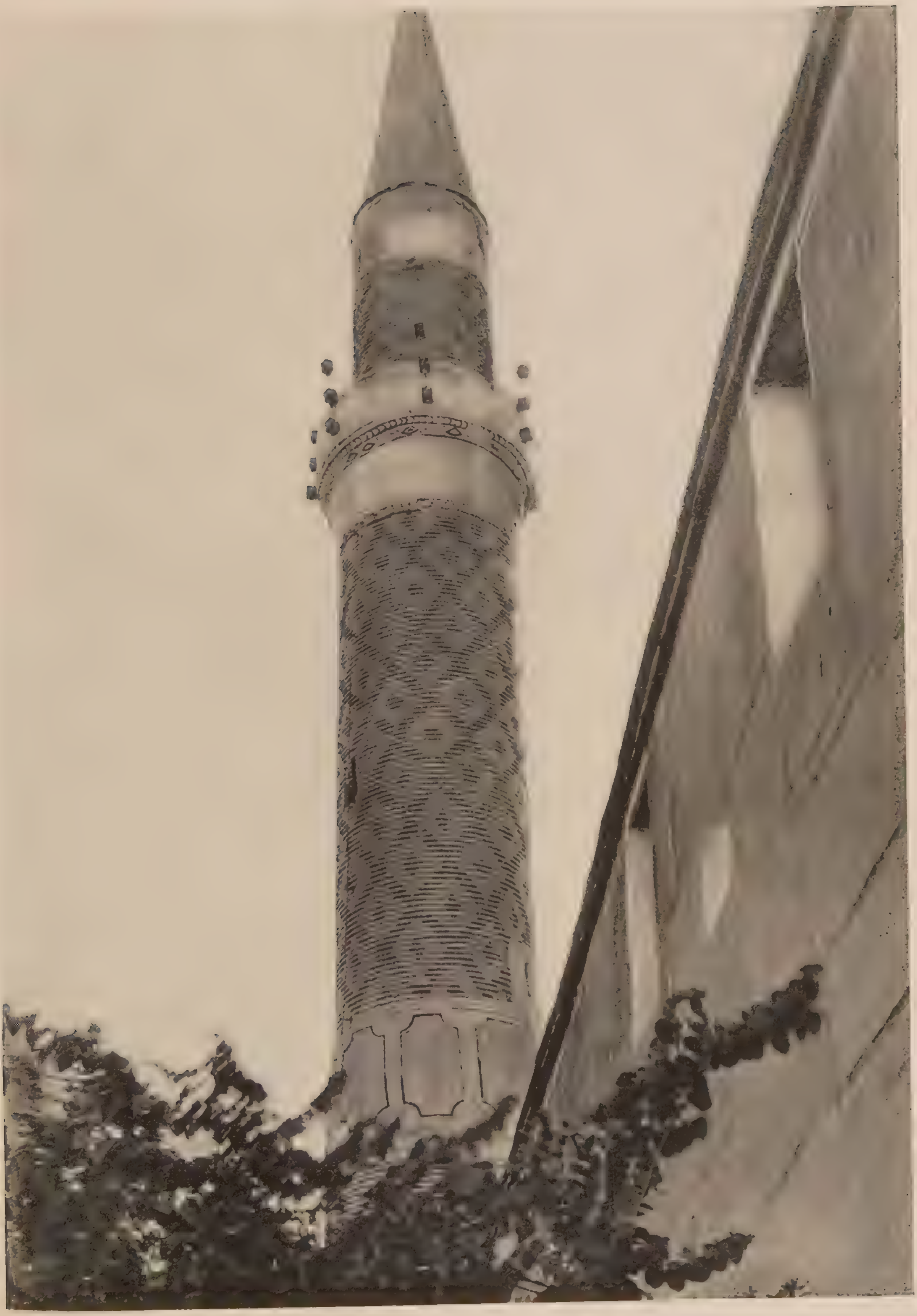
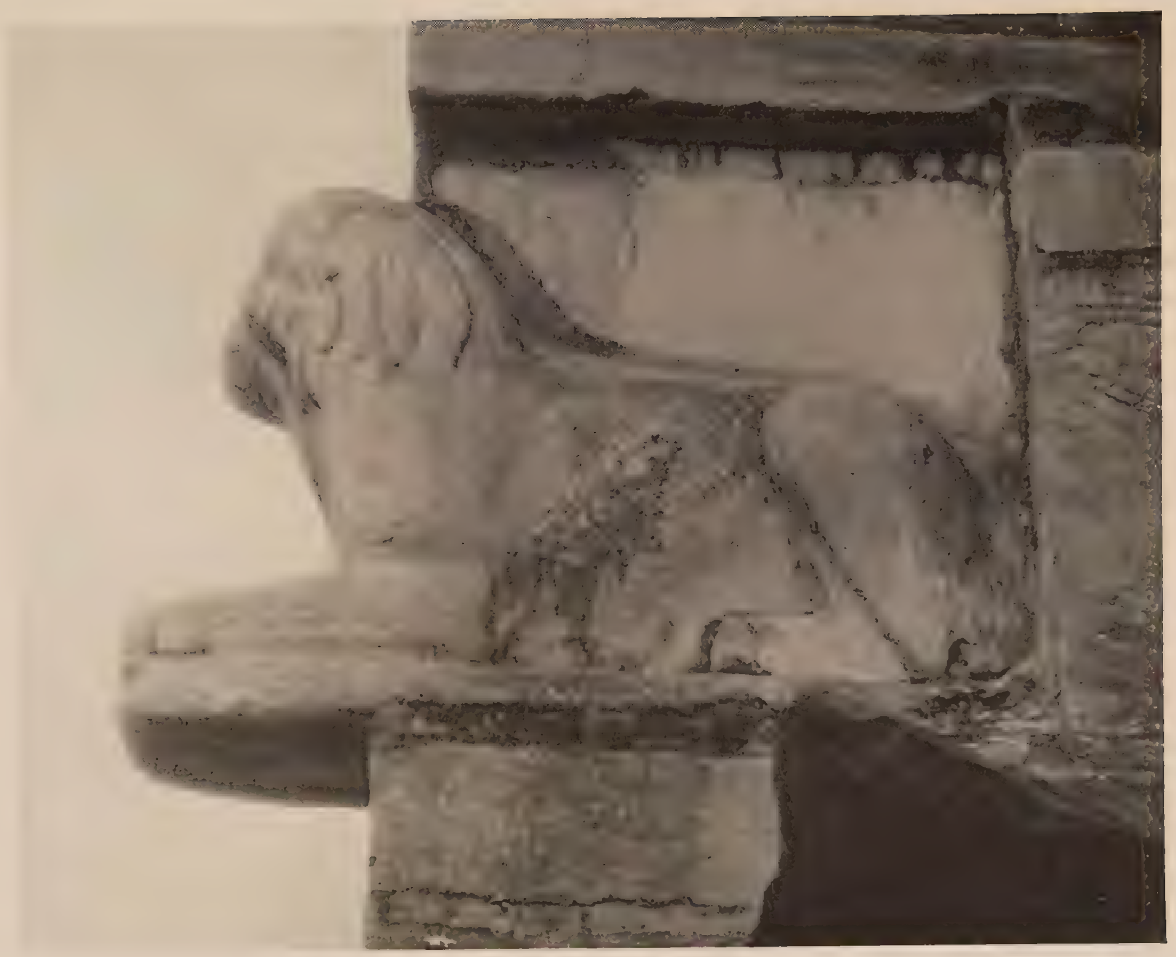


34*a*. Birgeh, Ulu Djami: minareh and east side of mosque showing antique, squared marble blocks



35. Birgeh, Ulu Djami: lion (Byzantine?), set into southeast corner of mosque

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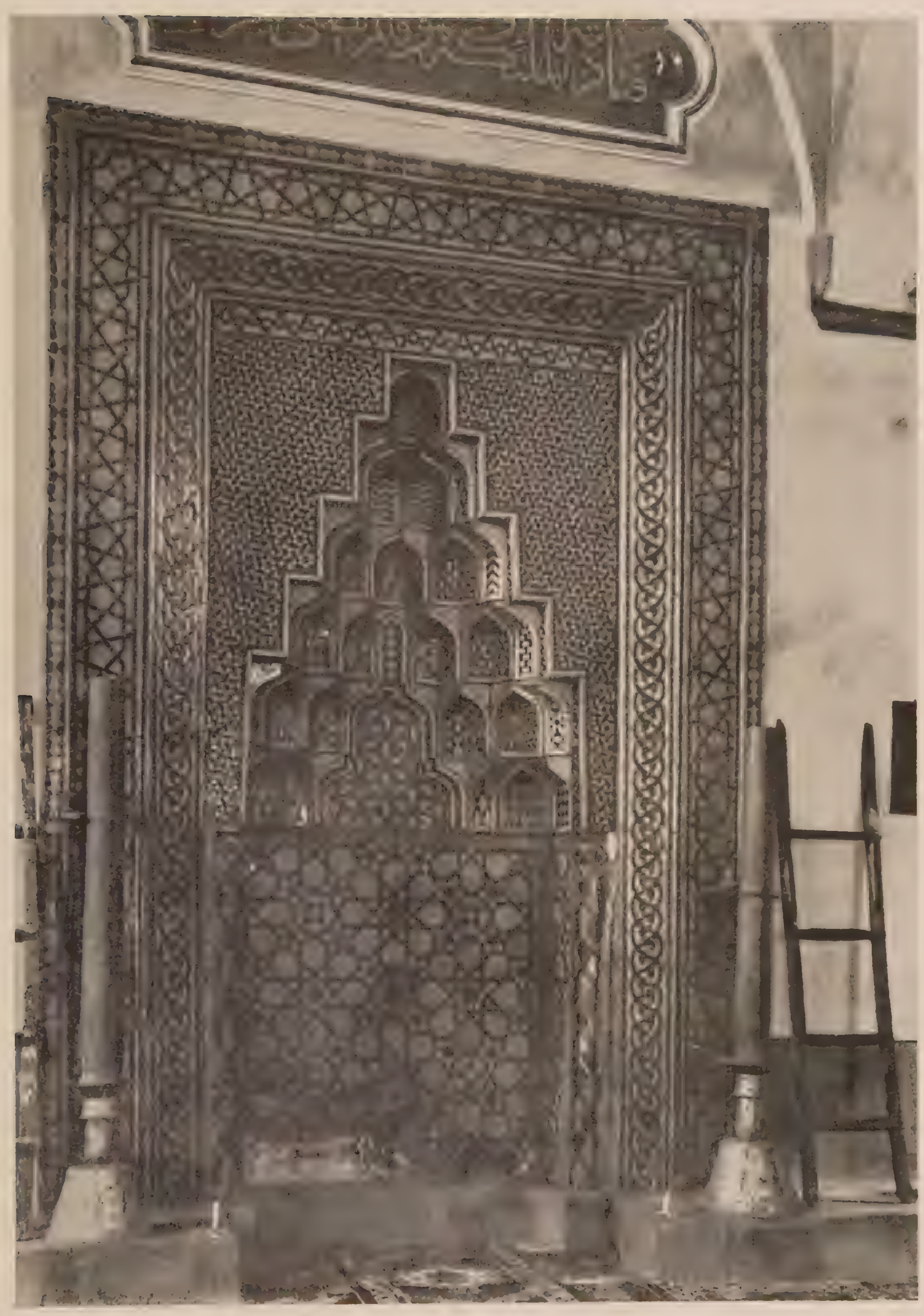

36. Birgeh, Ulu Djami: mihrab, fayence mosaic

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One feature is remarkable. The two southernmost columns of the center aisle are connected by an arch running from east to west, and a square compartment is formed by this arch, by the mihrab wall and by the southernmost arches of the two central arcades. This square is surmounted by a dome on straight triangular pendentives. We have here, therefore, another case of emphasis laid on the plan square in front of the mihrab.

An examination of the outer walls on the west, east, and south sides shows that the west side has been largely reconstructed but that the two other sides have been built of gigantic well-cut slabs and blocks of marble laid in irregular courses. These stones seem to have been taken from a classic building.

The mosque has two rows of windows. The walls are absolutely plain. The west door seems to have been transformed from a window, while the stone-carved frame of the east gate shows a Koranic inscription and unimportant decoration. The two windows on the east side have richly carved decoration in a sort of debased Byzantine style which I cannot explain except as a much later imitation of Byzantine motives.

The minareh of the mosque (Fig. 34 *a*) is placed rather unusually in the southwest corner. It is fairly tall and cylindrical. The majority of the bricks are enameled on the visible side, producing an effect of delicate polychromy. The top part, above the balcony, has been preserved in its original state and shows a horizontal design of zigzags alternatingly red and turquoise-blue, while the shaft of the minareh has a design of lozenges with dots in the centers of the lozenges in brick-red and turquoise-blue. Ornamental polychrome bands mark the base of the balcony. A figure of a lion couchant, probably of Byzantine origin, is set into the wall of the southeast corner of the mosque (Fig. 35).

The decoration of the mosque is of great interest. There is first a large mihrab of Seljuk fayence mosaic in turquoise and manganese black, which is in a perfect state of preservation and can be compared favorably to similar work in Konia and other places of Central Anatolia (Fig. 36). In the rectangular frame is set a stalactite niche, each unit of which is decorated with varying patterns in fayence mosaic. Below this niche is a panel showing geometric interlacing. Two engaged columns decorated with fayence mosaic support the stalactite niche. The whole is very pleasant, though perhaps a little dry.

Another important piece of fayence mosaic decoration is found on the arch running east to west and connecting the southernmost columns of the two center aisles; on turquoise blue ground a Koranic inscription is shown in bold manganese black Sulus writing.

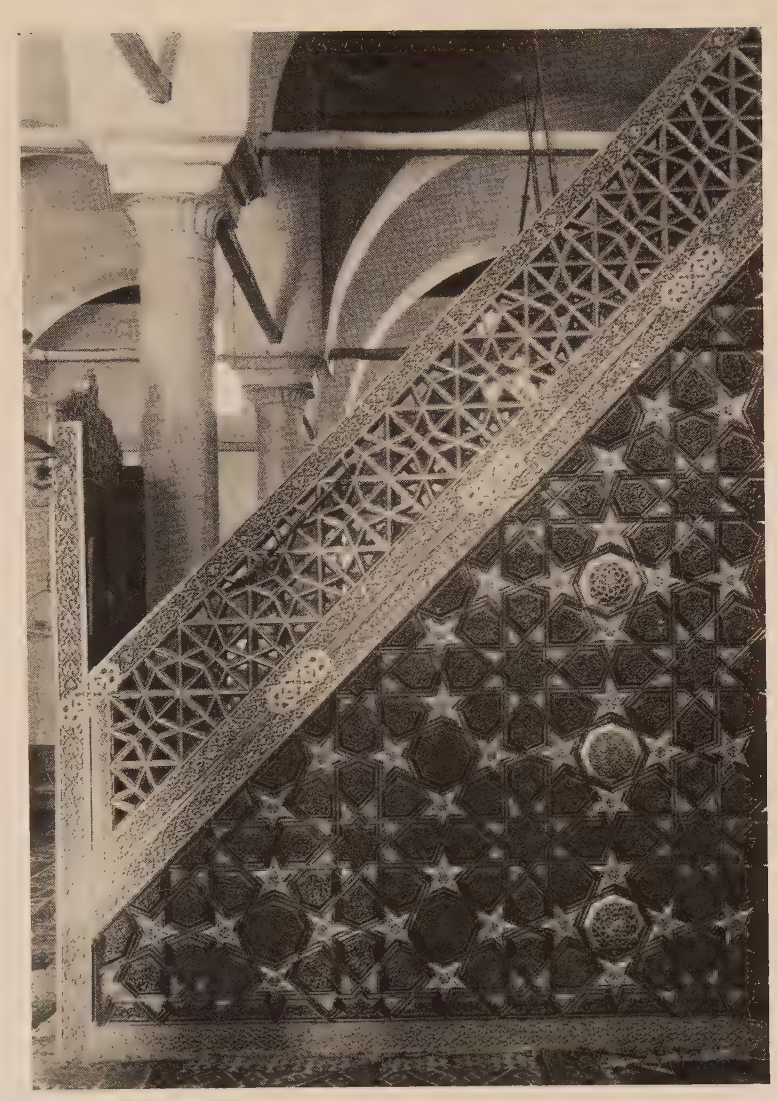
I consider it possible that the mosque originally contained more fayence work. There can be no hesitation in ascribing this fayence decoration to the period of the foundation of the mosque, or at least to a period not much later.

The decorations in carved wood are a further great attraction of the mosque.

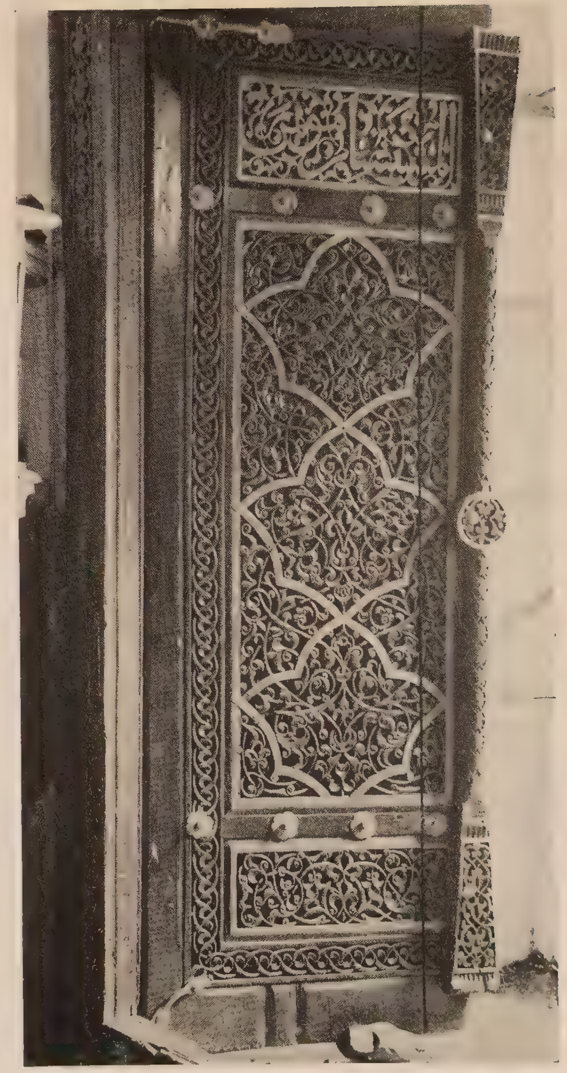
The minbar, covered with inscriptions, is a fine specimen of Seljuk carving (Figs. 37, 216). Unfortunately it has been varnished by brutal hands, and to make things worse, several features of the design have been emphasized by cheap gold paint. The front shows a fine pediment with arabesque carving. The frame contains two Neskhi inscriptions with verses of the Hadith, while the richly carved double door, also, contains on each door-panel one line of inscription of the Hadith. On the railing of the right side is an inscription (no. 19) containing the date 722 A.H. (1322 A.D.), which proves that the minbar was made slightly after the foundation of the mosque. The canopy contains on the right side four inscriptions: counting from the top, the first three contain sentences of the Hadith, while the lowest names Muzaffer ed-Din bin Abd ul Wahid bin Suleiman el-Gharbi as maker of the minbar. On the left side we find a similar distribution of four inscriptions: the two top ones and the lowest contain sentences from the Hadith, while the third one repeats the date of the making of the minbar. The decoration of the sides shows a particularly fine openwork in the railing formed by geometric interlacing, while the triangular side panels have the usual decoration of stars, openwork bosses, and polygons, in which, on account of the early date of the monument, flowers of the "Chinese floral" style are absent. All the floral decoration is limited to arabesques.

It is hardly doubtful that the same woodcarver did the shutters of the eight windows of the mosque. It is also interesting to observe how the carver graded his effects, giving to his work more and more importance as he approached the mihrab, a gradation which can often be observed. In a similar way a subtle gradation in the tile decoration towards the central axis and the main entrance can be observed in Goek Medresseh in Tokat. Such gradation of effects, emphasizing the mihrab, is the rule in Ottoman mosques. The designs employed for the shutters are six in number. Design no. 1 is the most elaborate and is found in the windows right and left of the mihrab. The design (Figs. 38, 39) shows bands dividing the field into shield-shaped compartments with a filling of a most delicate design of slender stems forming ogives and spirals with attached arabesque leaves and palmette flowers. The design is raised, almost undercut, and shows exquisite modelling in details. Similar designs are found in the fine Koran-stand from Konia, now in Tchinili Kiosk in Stambul, and in another one which I photographed in the Tekke of the Mevlevi in Konia (compare the remarks on woodcarving on p. 128).

Design no. 2 (Fig. 40) is found in the two southernmost openings of the east and west walls. The field is here divided into geometric compartments by straight interlaced bands which emphasize particularly an axe-shaped motif. These bands are slightly raised. The floral design is of a smaller scale than in design no. 1, and the relief effect is very slight, showing that these



37. Birgeh, Ulu Djami: minbar (dated 722 A.H.; 1322 A.D.)



38. Birgeh, Ulu Djami: wooden shutter next to minbar

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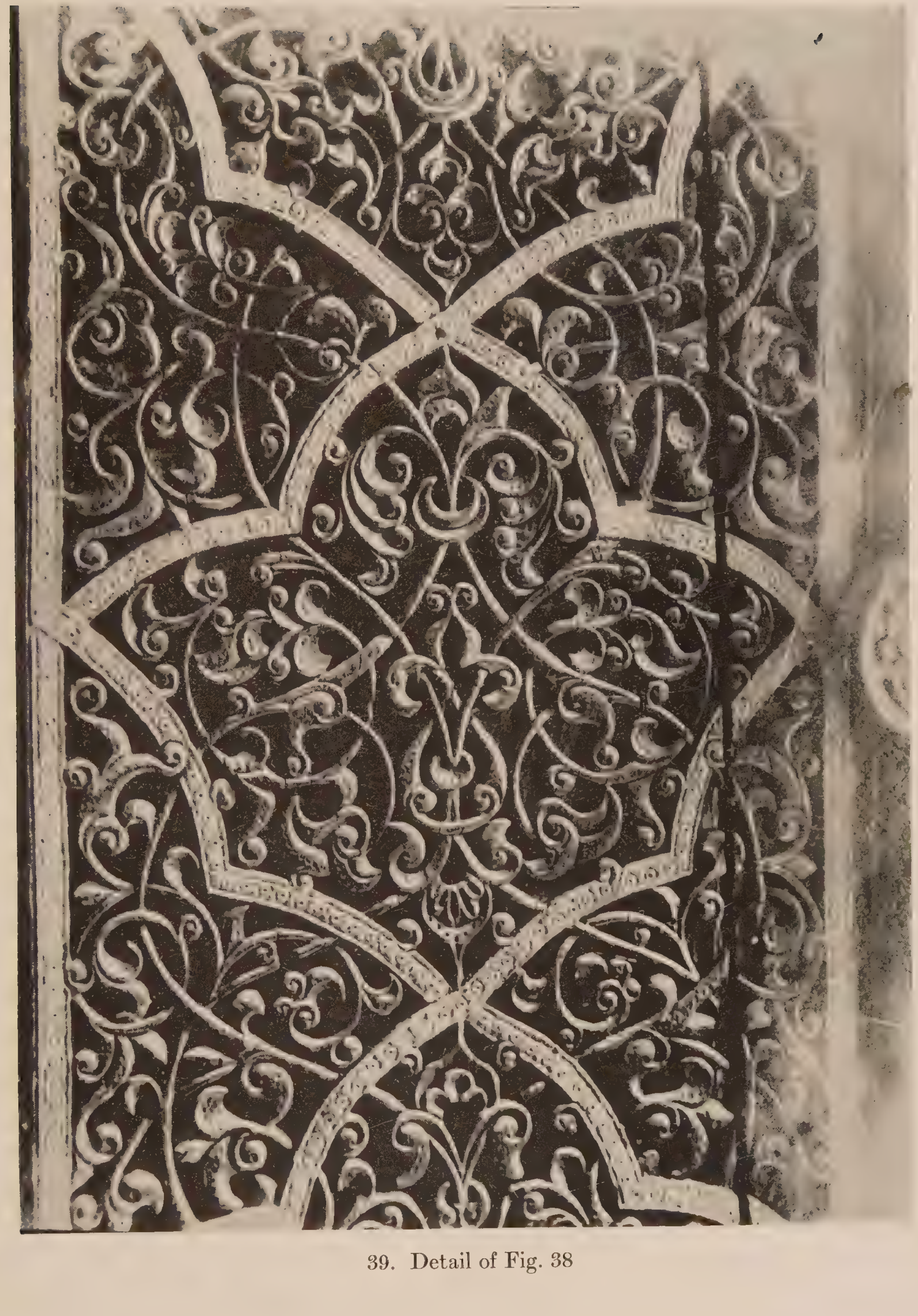

39. Detail of Fig. 38

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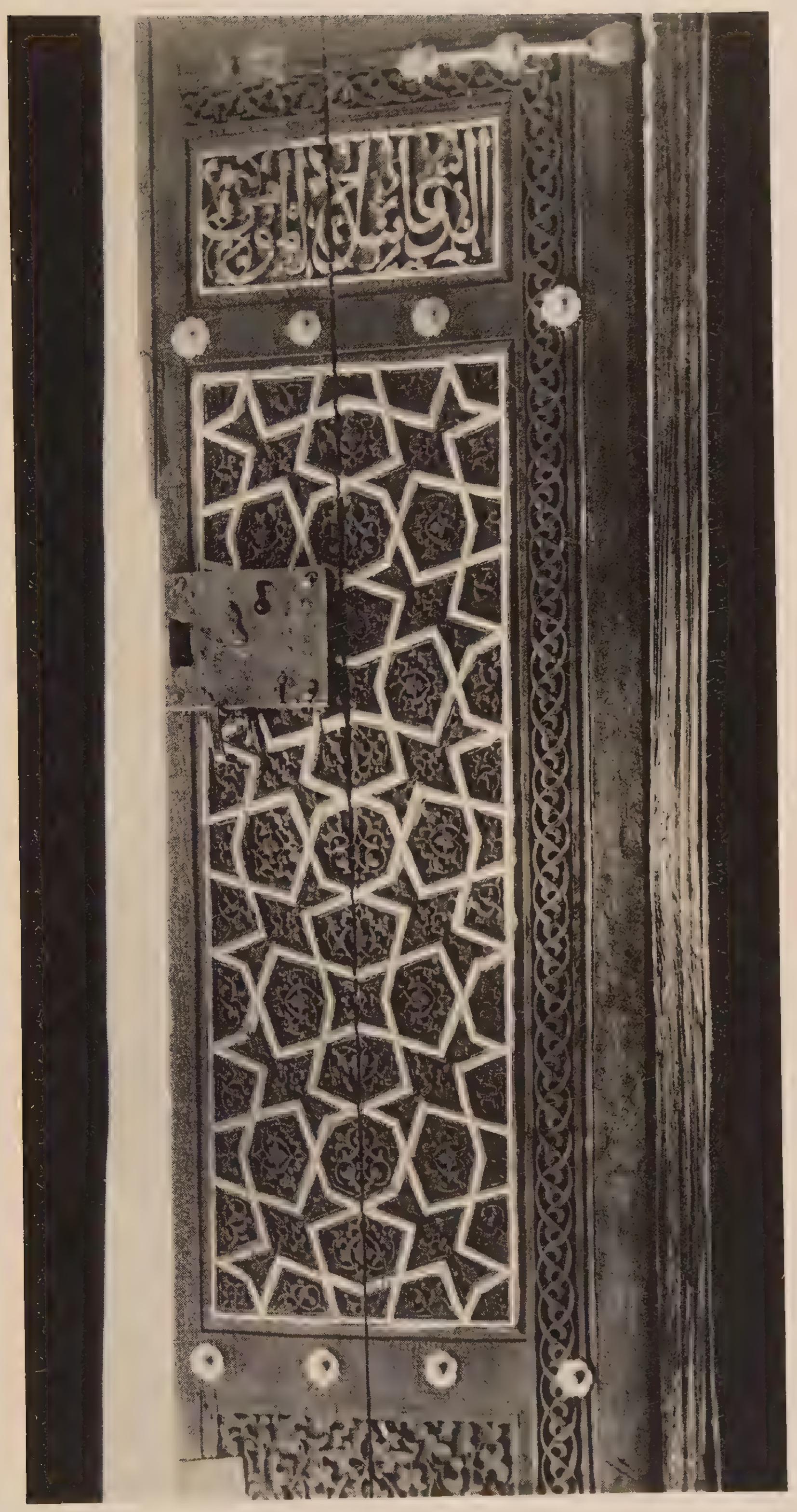

40. Birgeh, Ulu Djami: wooden shutter

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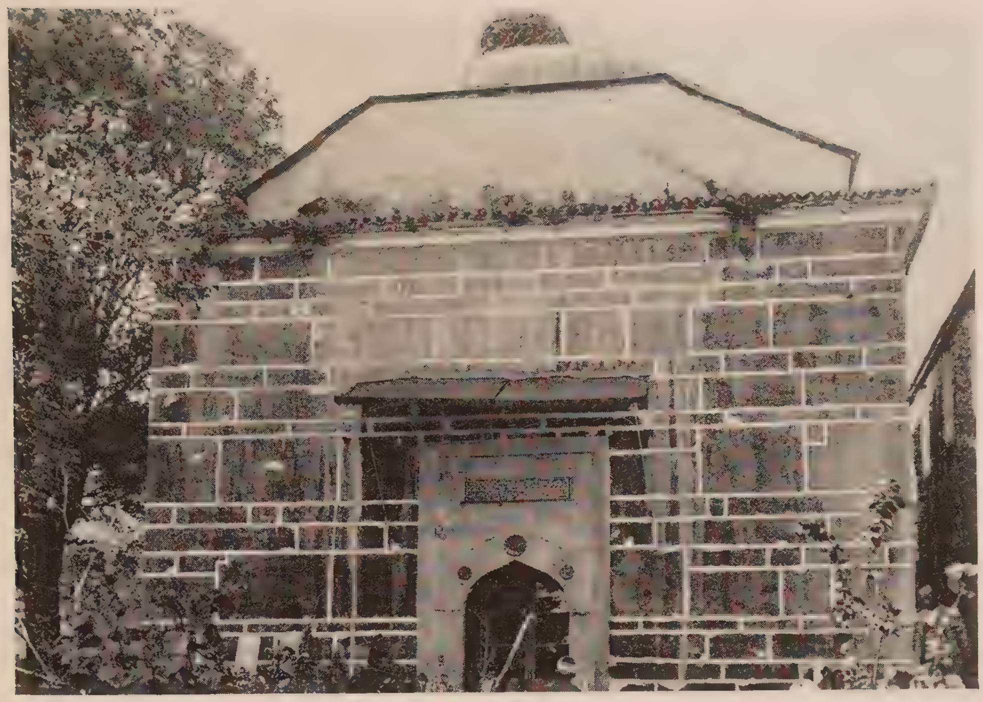
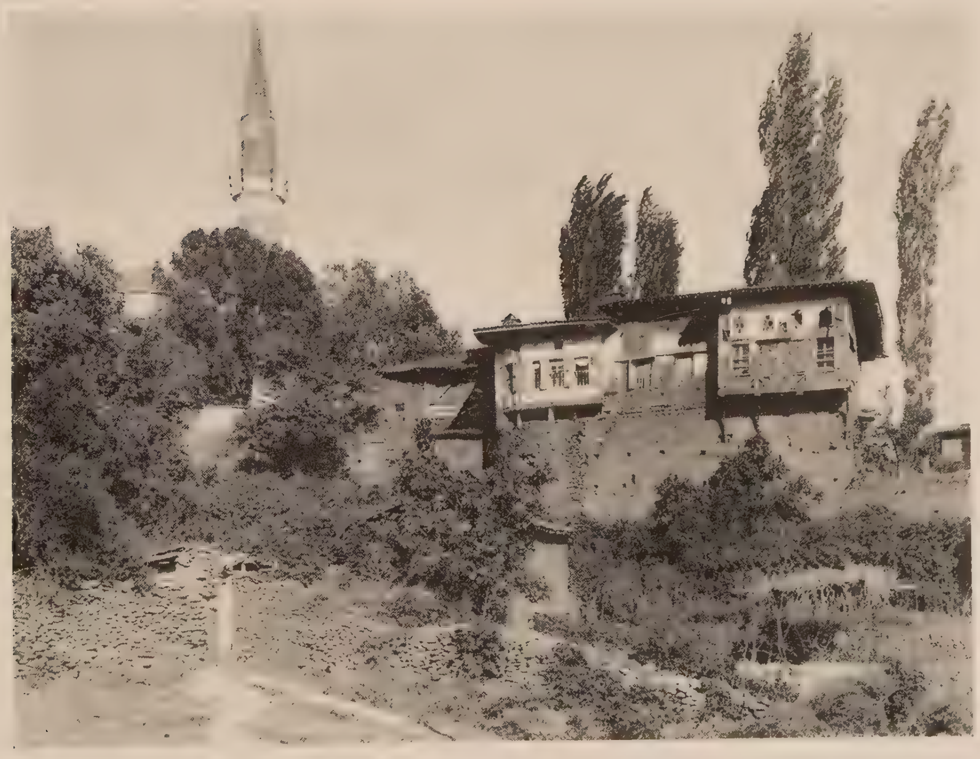


41. Birgeh, Ulu Djami: façade of turbeh of Aidin Oglu (734 A.H.; 1334 A.D.)



42. Birgeh: old house on walls of Kaleh; Ulu Djami to the left

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two shutters are considered less important than those of design no. 1. While the borders in the first design are executed in relief, we encounter in the second a new, much simpler technique in which the floral design is entirely flat, without any relief effect, and is raised against the sunken plane of the background—"flat on flat."

In designs 3, 4, 5, 6, we find only this last-mentioned technique, flat on flat. Sometimes the ribs dividing the field into compartments are slightly raised; sometimes they are sunken.

While these different grades in the execution of more or less exuberant designs have an importance from the angle of quality, they mean certainly also higher or lower cost and work of better or inferior workmen.

On the north side of the mosque are two raised tribunes for the women. Some of the woodwork shows carving of the technique "flat on flat" and belongs certainly to the period of the foundation of the mosque. The present doors are of indifferent quality and must have replaced earlier ones. The southeastern door was originally a window.

The mosque of Birgeh contained a certain number of fine old rugs of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries which through the attentive care of the Vali of Smyrna, Kiazim Pasha, have been removed to the Museum of Smyrna, where they are now on exhibition. They belong to the Ushak type with "frozen arabesque leaves," to other Ushak, and to the Kulah and Giordes types.

The mosque owns a beautiful Koran of large size with well-illuminated title pages. The final page bears the date 727 A.H. (1327 A.D.) (inscription no. 20; Fig. 218).

The cemetery surrounding the mosque contains a considerable number of early Ottoman tombstones with fine ornamental carving. They seem to be of the late eighth and ninth centuries A.H.

Adjoining the northwest corner of the mosque is the turbeh of the Aidin Oglu (Fig. 41). It is a heavy square building, constructed in alternating wide and narrow courses of well-cut blocks of a very fine limestone which approaches the quality of marble. This square is surmounted by an octagonal drum and this in turn is covered by the leaden dome. The turbeh exhibits an historic inscription and a sober decoration of floral and whirl rosettes in the lintel of the door (Fig. 219 *a*, *b*). The inscription (inscription no. 21) gives as the date of construction 734 A.H. (1334 A.D.). The interior is domed with a cupola, the top of which shows a round fayence mosaic in turquoise and black. The dome itself is built of red and turquoise bricks. At the base is a frieze of fayence mosaic, showing interlaced bands in turquoise, black, and red. Besides this rather simple decoration there is nothing remarkable in the decoration of this turbeh, which contains four cenotaphs with the inscriptions given in the appendix. These are the tombs of members of the house of the Aidin. According to Dr. Wittek the tombstones are of a later period (see inscriptions nos. 22–25).

Observations on Ulu Djami, Birgeh

The plan of Ulu Djami in Birgeh is very interesting, linking itself with the other timber-roofed mosques of Anatolia. We observe in the Ulu Djami of Sivas (sixth century A.H., according to van Berchem's supposition), in the Bazar Djami (602 A.H.) and Chouand Djami (635 A.H.) of Kaisarieh, in the mosque of Ala ed-Din in Konia (1210–1236 A.D., according to Sarre), and in the mosque of Beyshehir (undated according to Sarre), a very primitive mode of roofing which consists in laying tree trunks across the arcades of the structure. This roof is covered with earth, which is made practically waterproof by rolling with a stone cylinder.

A more elaborate way of roofing, with all the earmarks of the original, is found in the timber roofs of the mosques of Arslan Hane and Achi Elwan in Angora (both undated but undoubtedly Seljuk). Well-hewn and squared beams support the slanting tile roof and rest on the columns with elaborate corbelling of great decorative effect.

A third method of roofing is revealed in Ulu Djami in Birgeh where a saddle roof with beams and kingposts visible in the center aisle has been erected, but I cannot say whether this type of roofing corresponds to the original one.

The feature of the dome in front of the mihrab is very important. The same feature occurs in the two congregational mosques of Kaisarieh and in Ulu Djami at Manissa. Even in the timber-roofed mosque of Beyshehir a stone-built square surrounds the "maqsura." A similar feature can be observed in the Ulu Djami of Van.[1] In Beyshehir the front and sides of this maqsura are richly decorated with fayence, and this led me to suppose that the "triumphal arch" of the mosque of Birgeh had perhaps formerly more fayence decoration than today. Taken as a whole, the plan of this mosque is much more archaic than that of the Ulu Djami of Manissa. The absence of green or yellow in the fayence decoration is also characteristic of an earlier period.

Old Houses of Birgeh

The old houses of Birgeh have been mentioned. One of them is situated south of the Ulu Djami and stands partly on the remnants of the old walls of the Kaleh (Fig. 42). It is very well proportioned though partly remodelled, and shows the characteristic arrangement of two rows of windows, the upper

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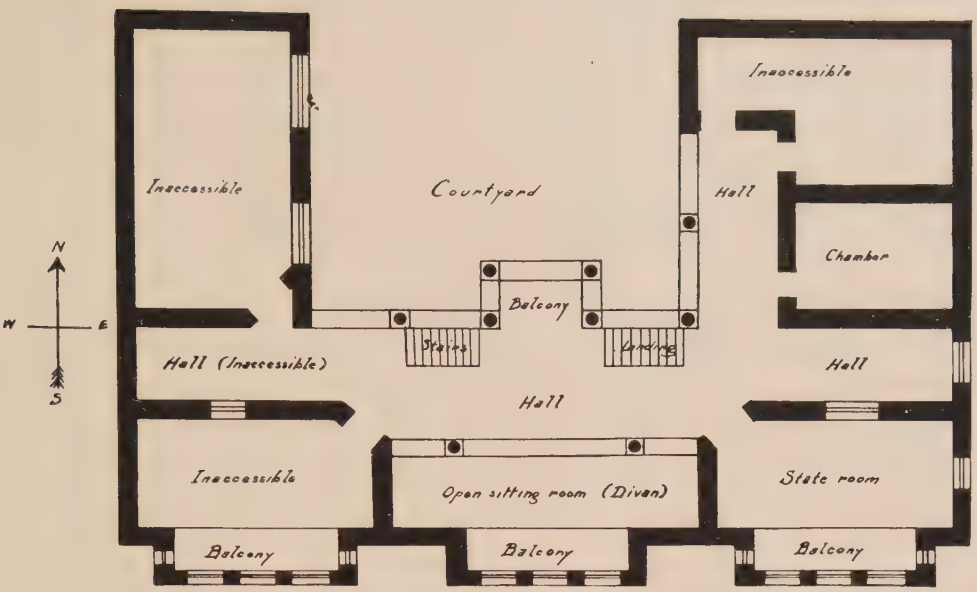
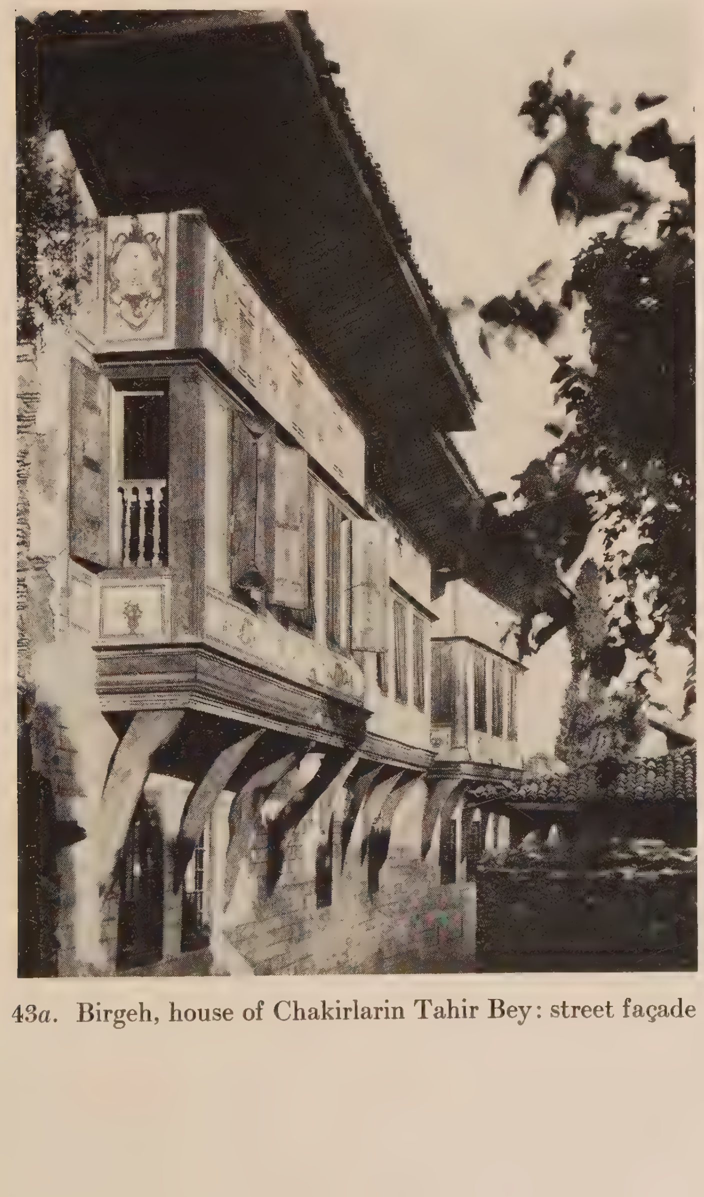
[1] See Bachman, "Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenian und Kurdistan," *Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft*, vol. xxv (Leipzig, 1913), p. 70, pl. 60.


Inaccessible
Courtyard
Inaccessible
Hall
Chamber
N
W
E
S
Balcony
Stairs
Landing
Hall (Inaccessible)
Hall
Hall
Inaccessible
Open sitting room (Divan)
State room
Balcony
Balcony
Balcony

43. Birgeh, house of Chakirlarin Tahir Bey: sketch diagram of plan; probably about 200 years old



43*a*. Birgeh, house of Chakirlarin Tahir Bey: street façade

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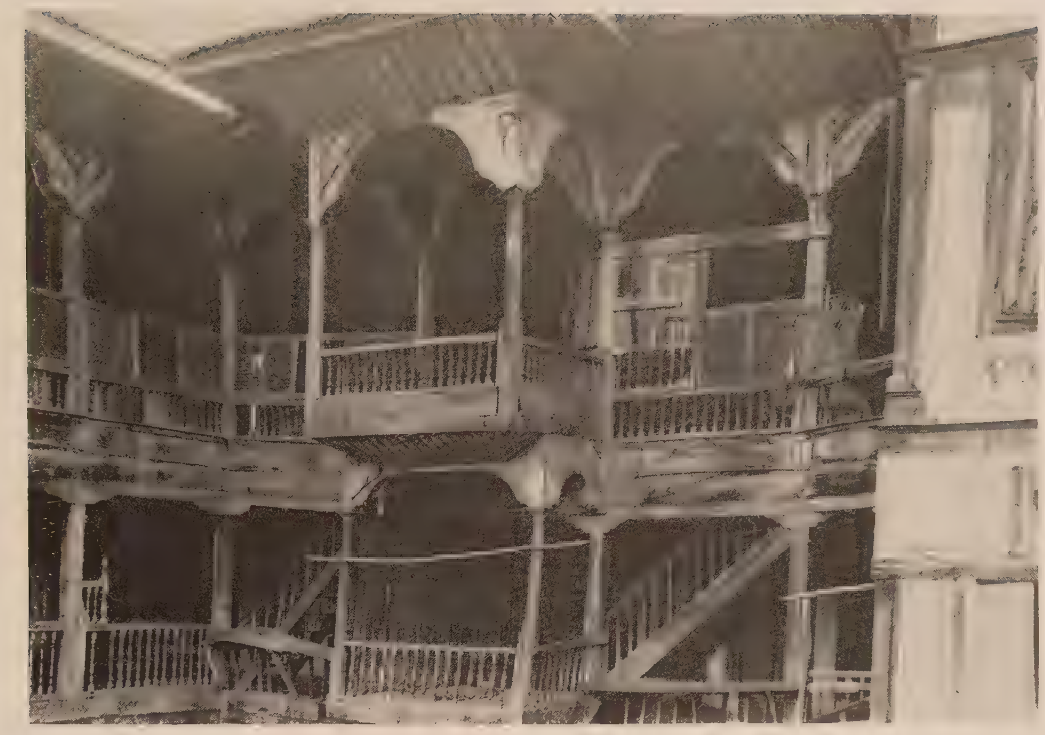

44. Birgeh, house of Chakirlarin Tahir Bey: façade of courtyard, second and third story

45. Birgeh, house of Chakirlarin Tahir Bey: central hall; third story

ones for light with kameriyehs set into stucco, the lower ones for ventilation with wooden shutters. I had no time to visit this interesting house.

West of the stream is the house of Chakirlarin Tahir Bey (Figs. 43–46), which can be considered one of the finest eighteenth-century houses that still exist in Anatolia. It is a beautiful three-story building with the outside of stone — layers of roughly squared stones alternating with strata of small flat slabs — and the balconies in half-timber. The inside had only a wooden frame. Some of the beams on the inside essential to the maintenance of the structure are badly rotted now and if help does not come soon, the building is doomed. The street side (south) of the building shows that the second story is a sort of mezzanine, while the third story, built with three rectangular bay windows, contains the master rooms. The outside is gaily decorated with painting *al secco*, which if not of the eighteenth century, certainly carries on the tradition of that period.

A cornice formed of wooden boards with joints covered by moulded laths slopes upward at an angle of about 30 degrees to meet the roof, which has a wide projection, to shelter the walls of the upper story against sun and rain. The windows can be closed by wooden shutters and certainly had no glass panes originally. It is remarkable that the system of two rows of windows, the upper row with stained glass in stucco frames letting in the light only, and the lower windows, closed with wooden shutters, serving the purpose of ventilation, has been abandoned in this building. The court (north) side of the house is still more interesting. The first and second stories are supported by wooden posts of varying sections surmounted by flat imposts of flaring outline, characteristic of Oriental wood architecture since early times. The cornice of the roof springs from vast brackets, of which the outer profiles are carved to form semicircular arches. Below the brackets the posts are carved to simulate capitals. Originally all these brackets were stuccoed and painted. This elegant bracket structure is typical of Turkish eighteenth-century wood-frame building. I visited only the third story of this building and found that the center of the plan shows an open balakhane, or balcony, running north-south through the entire building, while two large chambers are situated right and left of this balcony. The open space of this balcony is continued to east and west and forms open-air corridors in both directions. North of this corridor are two more rooms in each wing, so that the total of rooms in this story amounts to six.

I entered room no. 2, which was decorated with charming simple *al secco* decorations of flower vases, etc., but the *pièce de résistance* of the house is certainly room no. 1 (the "state" room on the plan) which was not accessible on account of the absence of the occupant. I was permitted to glance into this room through the window. The lower part was occupied by panelling and closets, gaily painted, while on the zone below the ceiling was a charming *al secco* painting showing Stambul, Galata, and Scutari in all their glory, according to the imagination of a naïve decorator of the period of Ahmed III.[1]

Conclusions Concerning Birgeh

I feel that a thorough and exact survey of the Ulu Djami in Birgeh is most desirable. At the same time the woodwork of the mosque ought to be photographed entirely. The tombstones in the cemetery ought to be photographed and studied, as they might contain important historic information. The house of Chakirlarin Tahir Bey ought to be entirely surveyed and photographed. A few color sketches would be most desirable. Perhaps the second old house of Birgeh on the Kaleh will also reveal itself worthy of closer study.

III. The City of Tireh

Tireh is reached from Birgeh via Oedemish in an automobile ride of about four hours across the plain of the Kutchuk Menderez. One passes through fields and orchards which are bordered by earthen walls on the top of which grow tall reeds. It is curious to see these plants, which are supposed to need much water, growing on the top of dried-out walls. The reeds are tall and sometimes the tops of the plants to right and left form a green vault as a protection against the hot sun.

The villages between Oedemish and Tireh seem to be very old-fashioned. The women wear red cotton dresses with veils of printed cotton showing cashmere palmettes and other kalamkari designs in red and black on ecru ground. The simplicity of line and the richness of color of these dresses are exceedingly beautiful. I do not know whether these "basma" or textile prints are printed in the region or whether they come from somewhere else in Turkey.

Tireh is situated on the north slope of the Guem Dagh, which mountain is the northernmost and lowest ridge of the greater Kothshag Dagh, the Messogis of classic antiquity. Tireh is situated very much like the city of Brussa, and like Brussa it has plenty of running water, hundreds of cypresses, planes, and other trees. Many old cemeteries with well-carved tombstones give the old city a picturesque touch (Figs. 47, 48). At sunrise the wild pigeons on the mountain slope and throughout the city begin their amorous cooing, and these charming calls of mate to mate fill the city from morning to evening and are echoed by the mountain. Tireh was a pious city and a seat of learning in the old days, and many minarehs and domes of mosques attest the spirit of its in-

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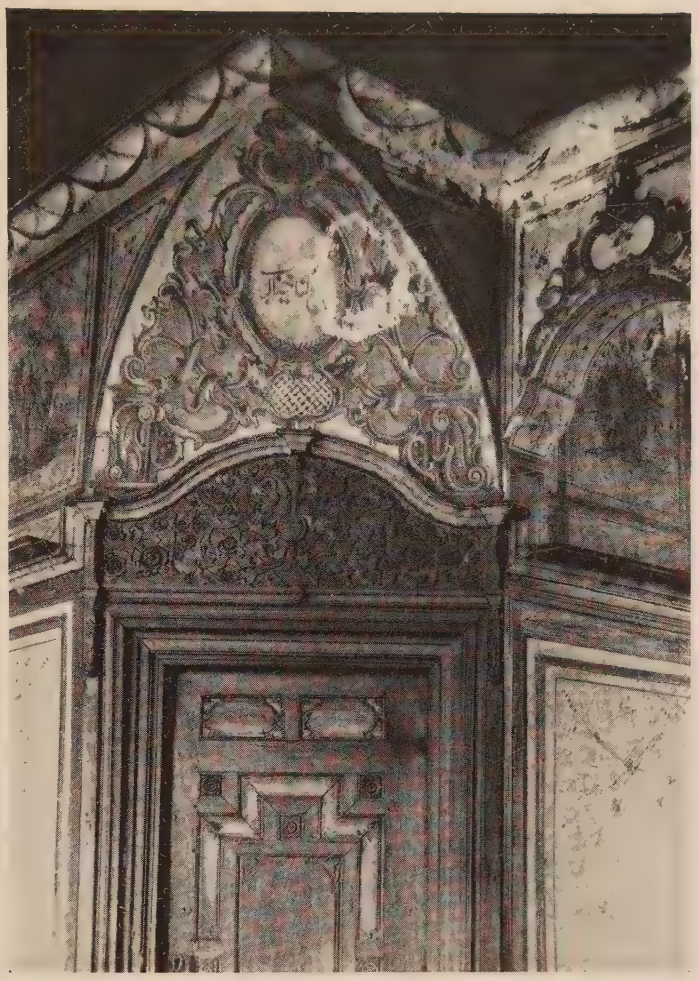
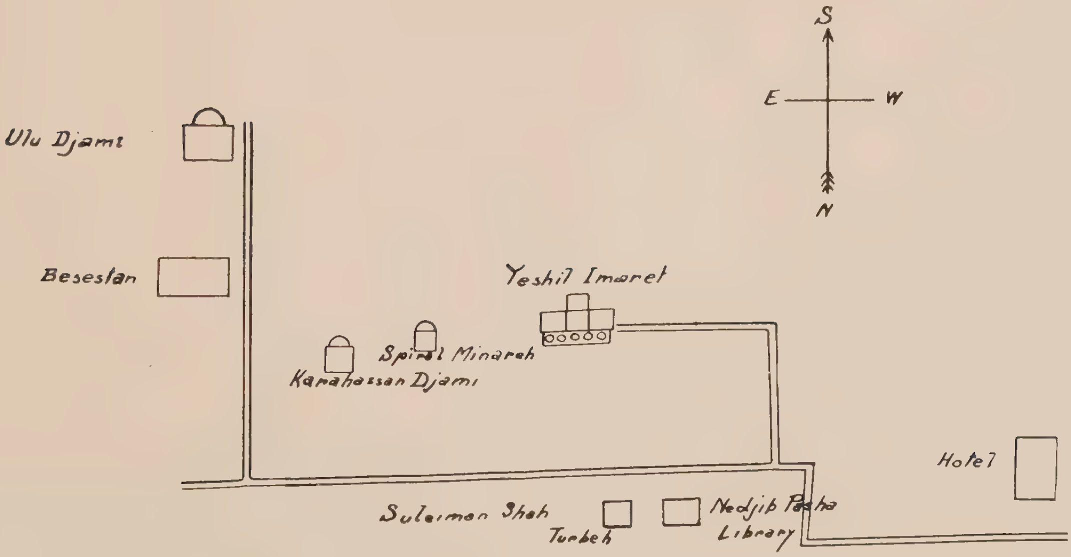
[1] I think that the domestic architecture of the eighteenth century in Turkey is not sufficiently known. As the specimens preserved become rarer and rarer, I hope that this interesting house will be taken under the wing of the active Society of Antiquarians of Smyrna.



46. Birgeh, house of Chakirlarin Tahir Bey: door of room in northwest corner of third story


S
E
W
N
Ulu Djami
Besestan
Yeshil Imaret
Spiral Minareh
Karahassan Djami
Hotel
Suleiman Shah
Turbeh
Nedjib Pasha
Library

47. Tireh: sketch plan indicating sites of monuments

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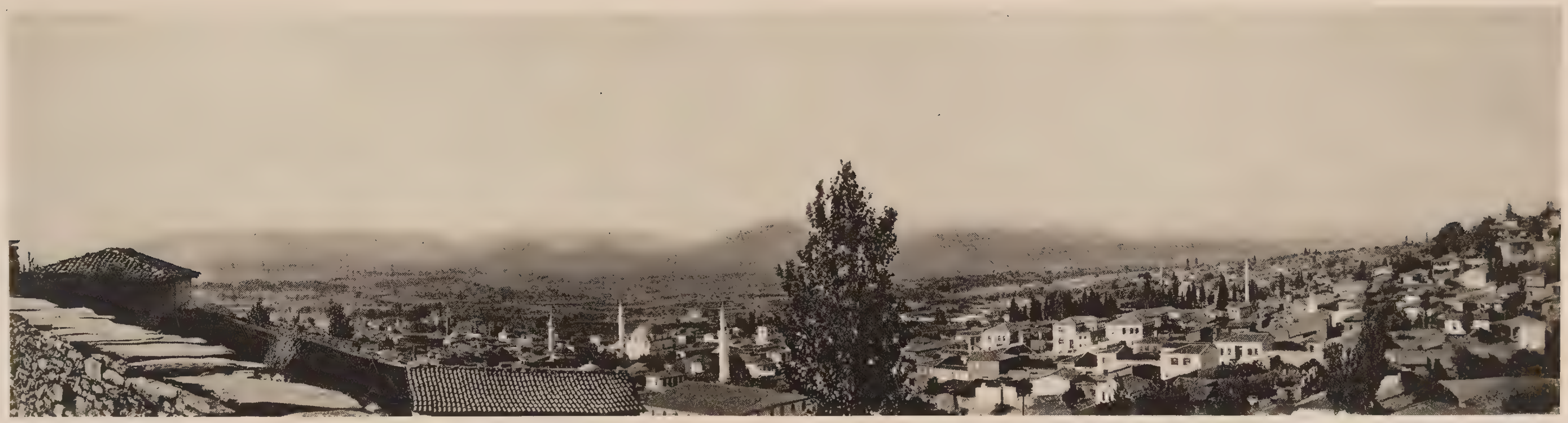

48. Panorama of city of Tireh with Kutchuk Mendere valley

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habitants. But conditions in Tireh were not as in Brussa: no creative energy concentrated on really great buildings. Practically all the buildings of Tireh are of secondary importance, charming as they may be.

The oldest and most important building in Tireh is the Yachshi Beg Djami, generally called Yechil Imaret. This building is now used as a barracks, and in spite of all letters of recommendation access to it was denied me. I understand that an inscription dates it 735 A.H. (1334/5 A.D.). There is no Yachshi Beg listed among the Aidin Oglu, and it does not seem possible that this Yachshi Beg could be Yachshi Beg of the house of Qarasy, brother of Timur Beg, who submitted in 737 A.H. to the Ottomans. Yachshi Beg, of Qarasy, was governor of Bergama.

The plan of Yechil Imaret seems to be rather interesting, as far as can be judged from the outside (Fig. 49). We find here the inverted T plan, so well known from the mosques in Brussa. However, the vaulting compartment of the plan, which would correspond to the foot of the T and which would have to house the mihrab, does not seem to be covered with a dome but with a semi-dome, the top of which touches the base of the central dome. If an examination of the inside should confirm what the outside seems to indicate, we would have here a rather early example of the occurrence of semi-dome leaning on dome. Other examples are found in Atik Ali Pasha in Stambul, and the feature has been discussed by Mehmed Agha-Oglu in his interesting study of the plan of the original mosque of Fatih in Stambul.[1] I shall publish several other early instances of this feature.

The minareh of Yechil Imaret (Fig. 50) is decorated with green, manganese, turquoise, and red bricks forming a repeat pattern of lozenges. This minareh thus falls in line with those of Ulu Djami in Birgeh, Ulu Djami in Manissa, and Yechil Djami in Isnik. All these mosques belong to the same century. During the ninth century A.H. the use of enameled brick seems to have fallen somewhat in disuse for the construction of minarehs. Yechil Imaret is constructed of rough, flat, stone slabs. A Byzantine carved slab of seventh- to eighth-century type, or probably of a later date, is used as a window jamb (Fig. 51).

The second important building, also dating, according to report, from the middle of the eighth century (fourteenth Christian) is the Ulu Djami, situated on the southern end of a new boulevard which crosses the burnt area from south to north. Ulu Djami is also inaccessible. It is a square block, somewhat similar in outline to the Ulu Djami in Birgeh. I am told that the interior burnt out during the last great fire and that the wooden roof (which seems to have been on two or four rows of stone-built arcades) is now replaced by a roof on a concrete frame. I was also told of a mosaic on the floor of this mosque. I suppose — the word "mosaic" is often used vaguely — that there is a section of the floor laid with marble slabs of various colors forming a pattern. All this information is hearsay.

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[1] Mohammed Agha-Oglu, "Die Gestalt der alten Mohammedije in Konstantinopel" *Belvedere* (Vienna, 1926), pp. 83 ff.

In the northwest end of the city is the medresseh Ibn i-Melek, which is an inconspicuous wooden structure, but in the yard of this medresseh is the turbeh of Suleiman Shah, a construction dated 750 A.H. (1349 A.D.) (Fig. 224 *a*, *b*) and containing the tomb of Suleiman Shah, son of Muhammad II of the Aidin Oglu, who reigned from 734 to 741 A.H., and brother of Umar Beg, whose reign began in 741 A.H.[1] The turbeh is quite similar to that of the Aidin Oglu in Birgeh and contains nothing of importance.

In the center of the town, just east of the boulevard, is a fine besestan, which I am inclined to ascribe to the tenth or perhaps even the end of the ninth century A.H. (Figs. 52–54). Three powerful piers divide the vast hall into eight vaulting compartments which are all covered by domes on spherical pendentives. The domes are enclosed by octagonal drums and covered with a saucer-shaped tile-roof. On the outside this besestan is surrounded by a row of shops twelve feet deep. There are twelve shops on each of the longitudinal sides. Adding four shops (and two blind niches) on each of the narrow sides, we obtain a total of 32 shops, which form the charchi around the besestan. A spacious Ottoman han, a hammam, and several mosques are in the vicinity of the besestan.

A certain number of mosques of the early Ottoman period and later are about the town, with interesting minarehs. The Tahtakaleh Djami has a minareh with a herring-bone design, produced by the arrangement of the red bricks. The Karahassan Djami has a minareh — seemingly older than the mosque — with round fluting produced by the particular shape of the bricks employed (Fig. 55); a third unimportant mosque has a minareh with the zig-zag fluting which we observed also in the Hatunieh Djami in Manissa (Fig. 56).

I was not able to visit the Yalyn Ayak Djami, which is said to contain tiles and is ascribed by local tradition to Sinan. It is said to have been built by a certain Hassan Tchaouch. This building is used for government storage purposes, I am told, and is inaccessible. I was also told of the Yavuklu Oglu Djami, situated outside of town, which is ascribed to the Early Ottoman period and is said to be of interest in spite of its ruinous condition. Another small mosque is the Rum Mehmed Pasha Djami on the hills north of the town. The mosque has rather pleasing brick mosaics, some of which form angular Cufic writing (Fig. 57). Rum Mehmed Pasha was one of the generals of Murad the Fourth. It is possible that the turbeh near by is the turbeh of

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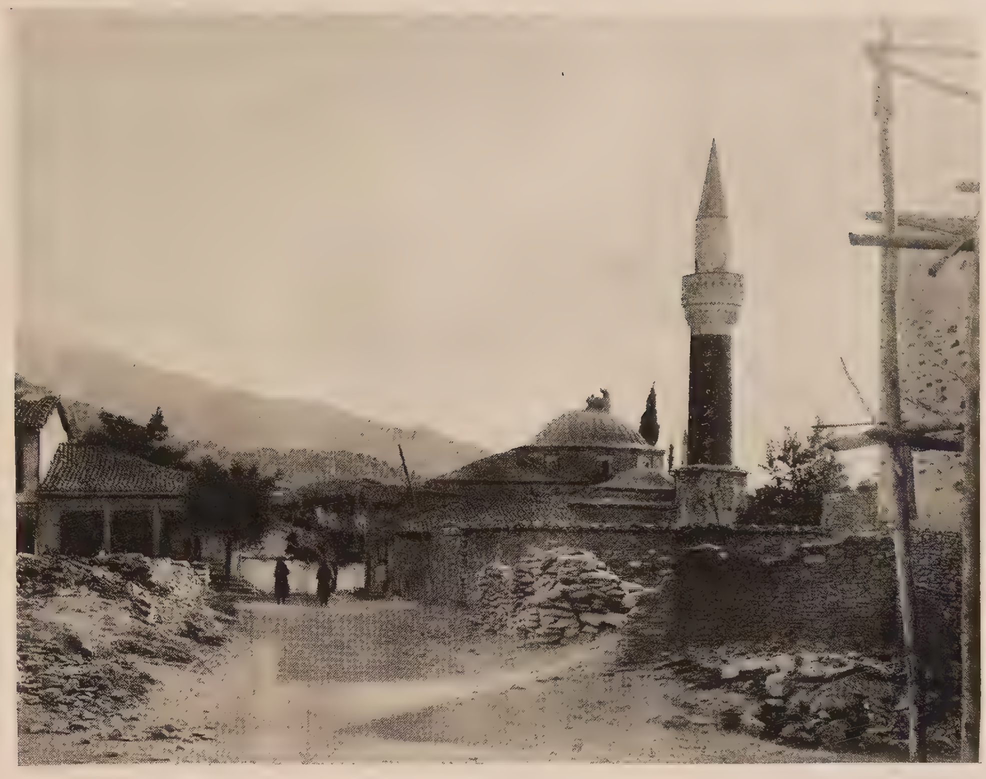
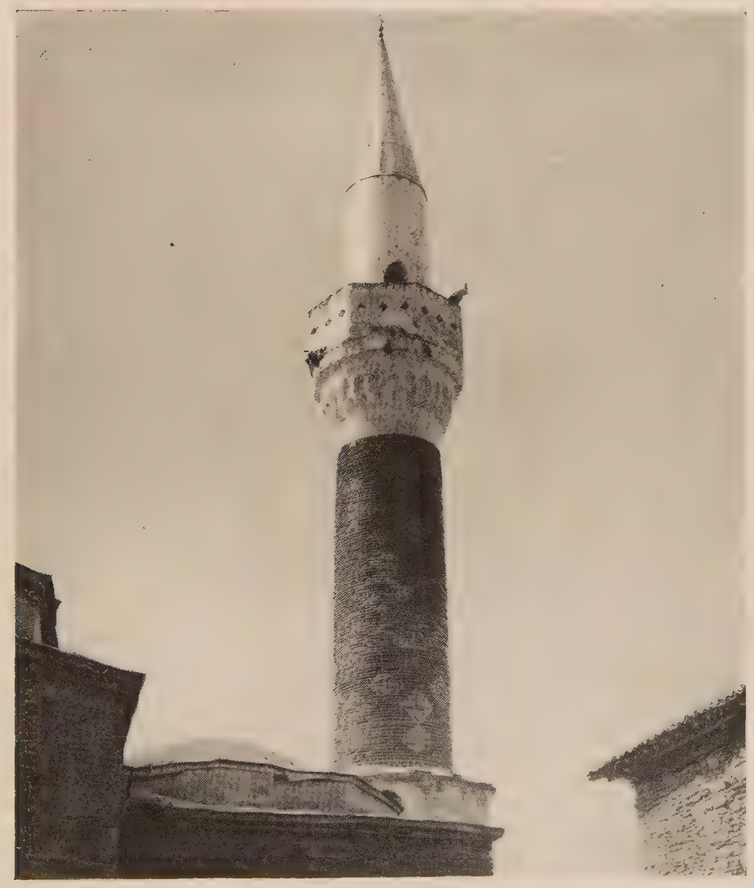
[1] See de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie*, p. 151.



49. Tireh: Yechil Imaret (735? A.H.; 1334/5 A.D.)



50. Tireh: minareh of Yechil Imaret

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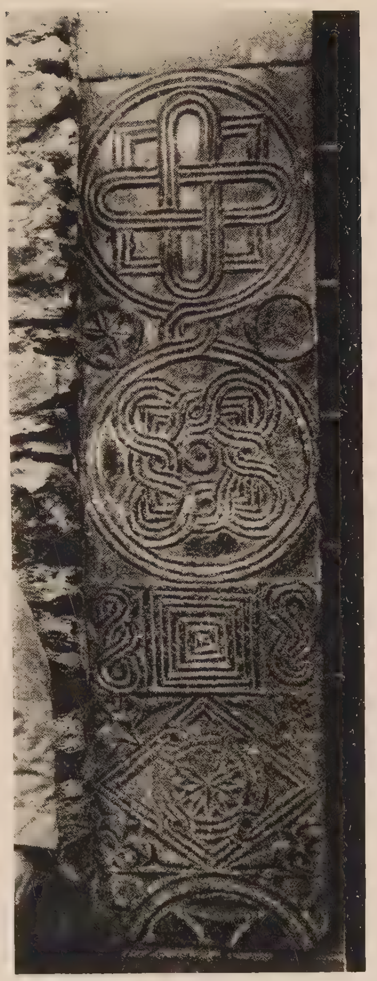
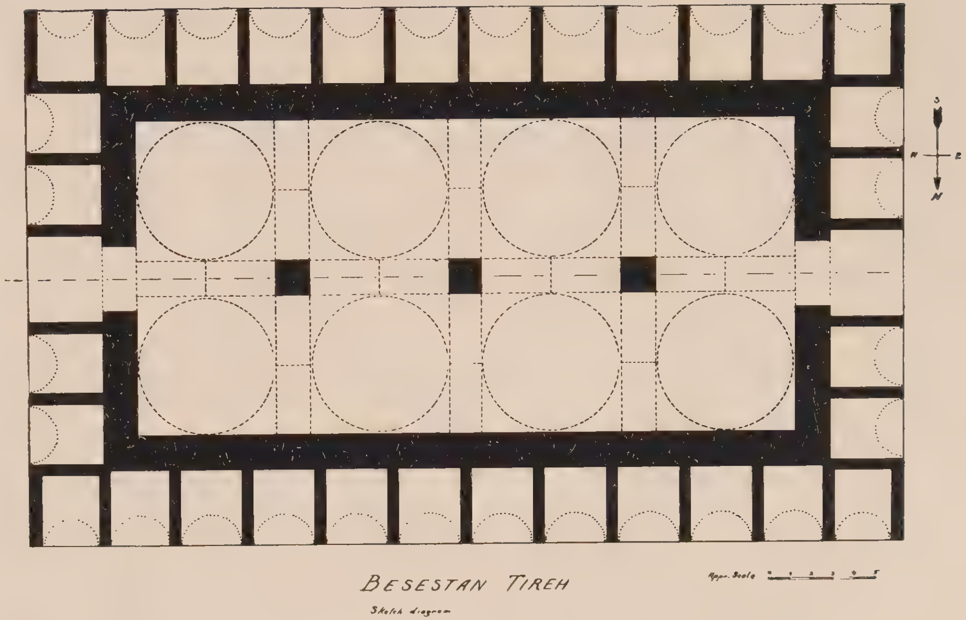


51. Tireh, Yechil Imaret: Byzantine slab set in wall


BESESTAN TIREH
Sketch diagram
Appr. Scale
S
W
E
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52. Tireh, Besestan: sketch diagram of plan (probably 10th century A.H.—16th of the Christian era)

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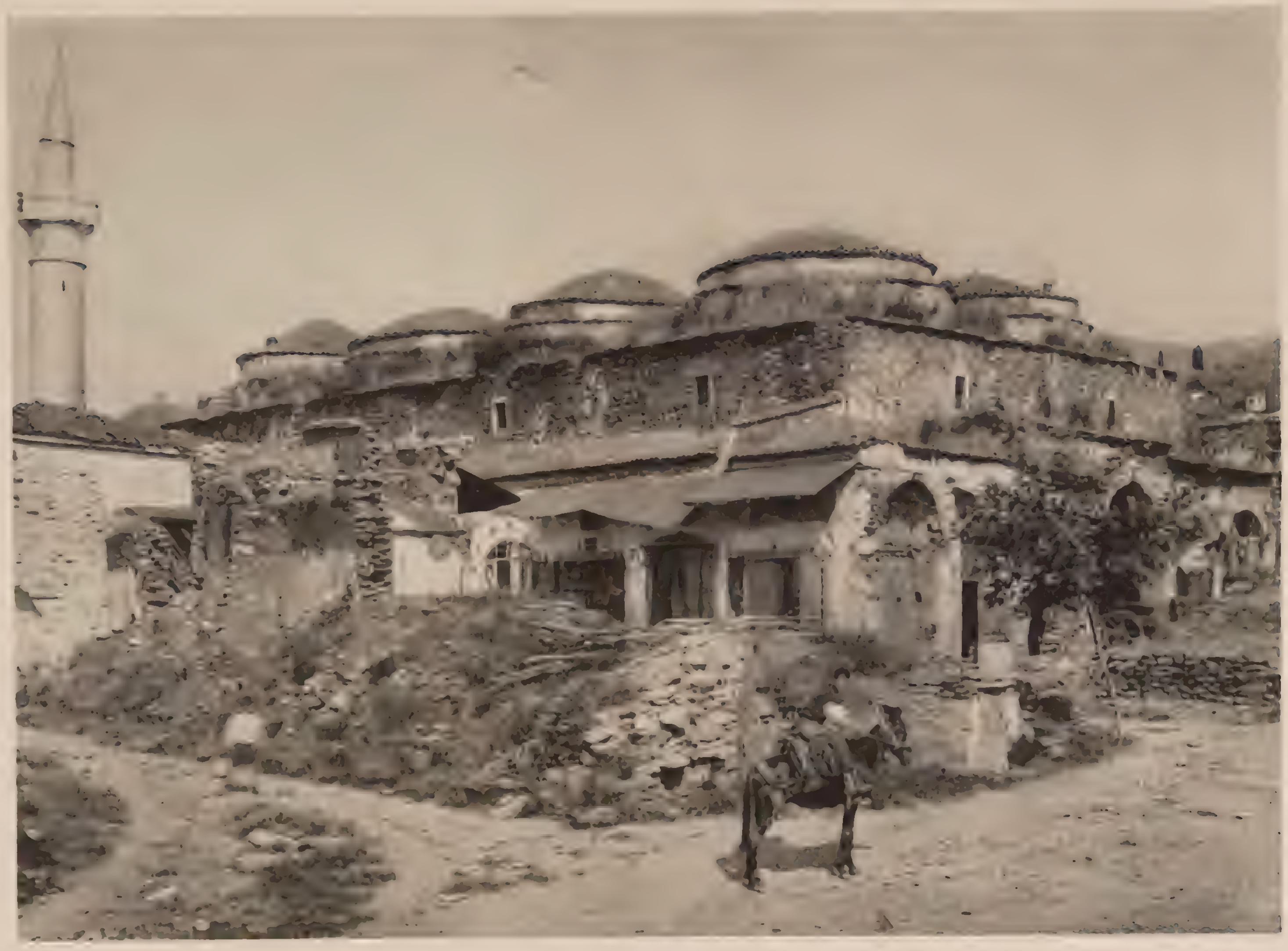

53. Tireh, Besestan: exterior view

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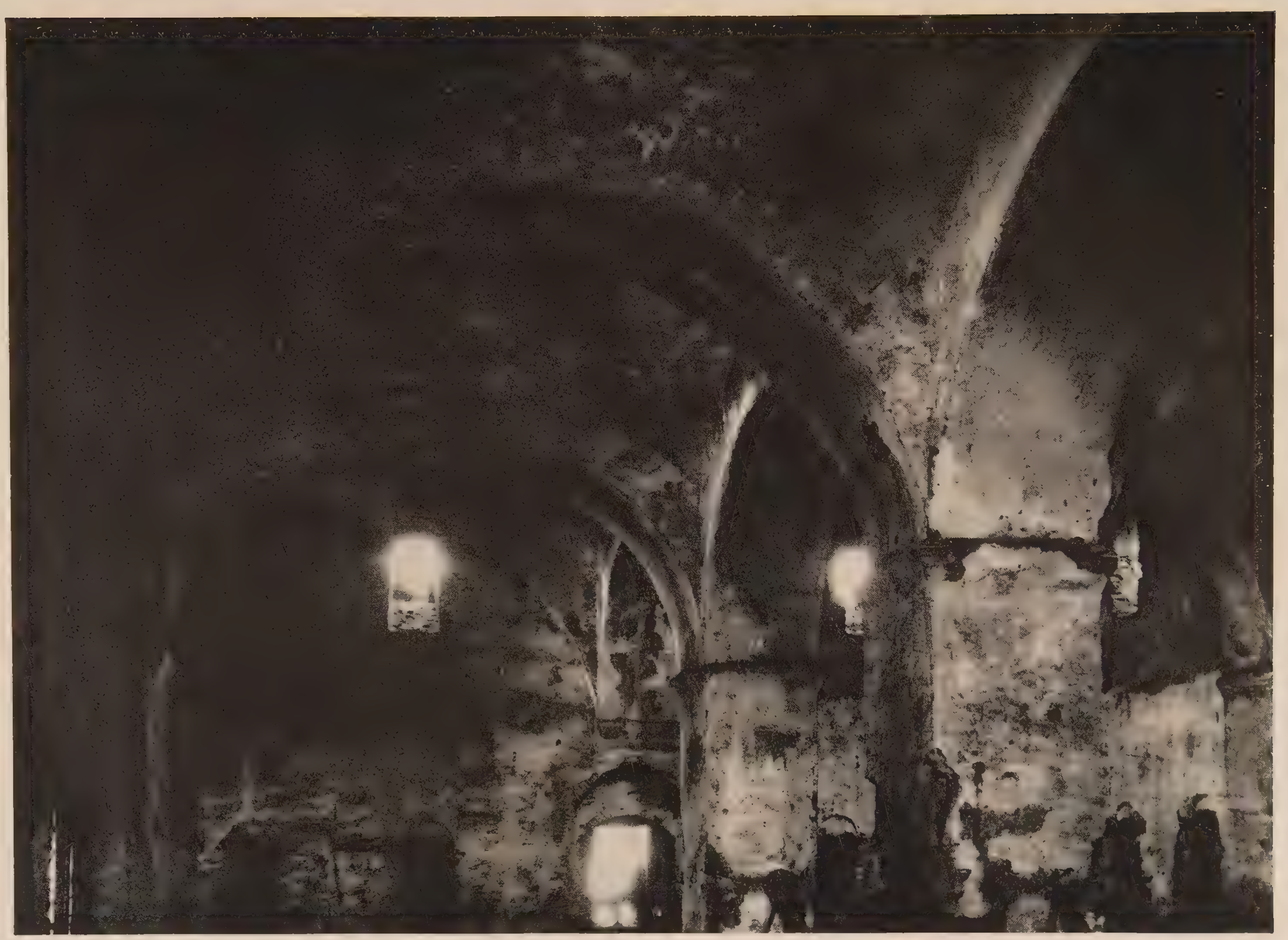

54. Tireh, Besestan: interior

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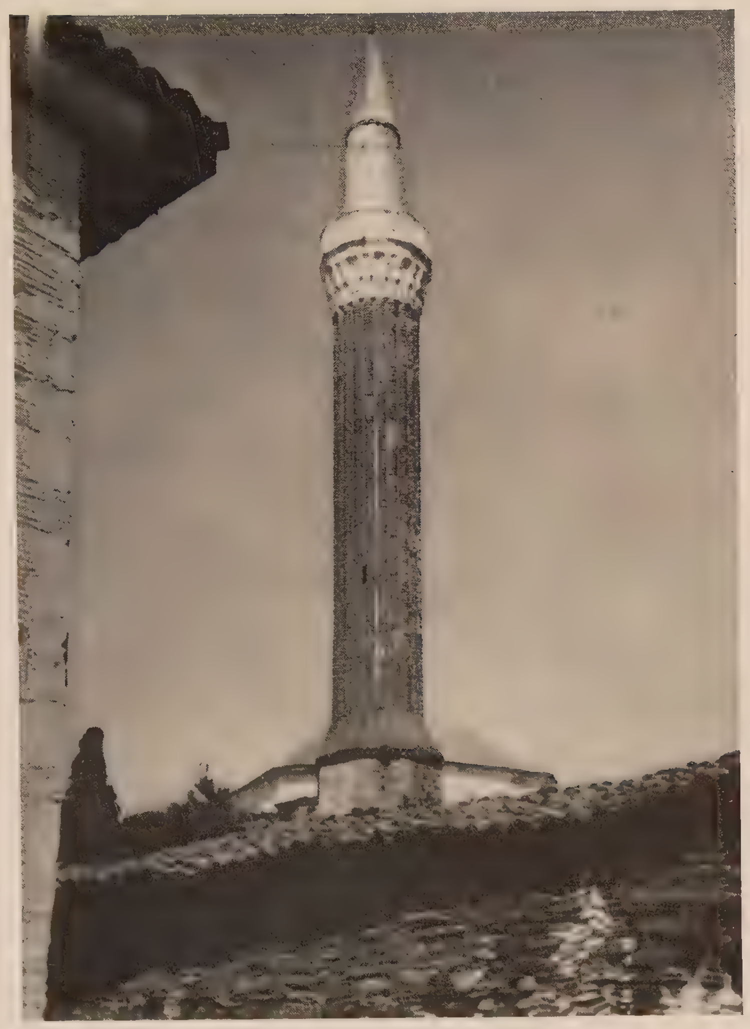
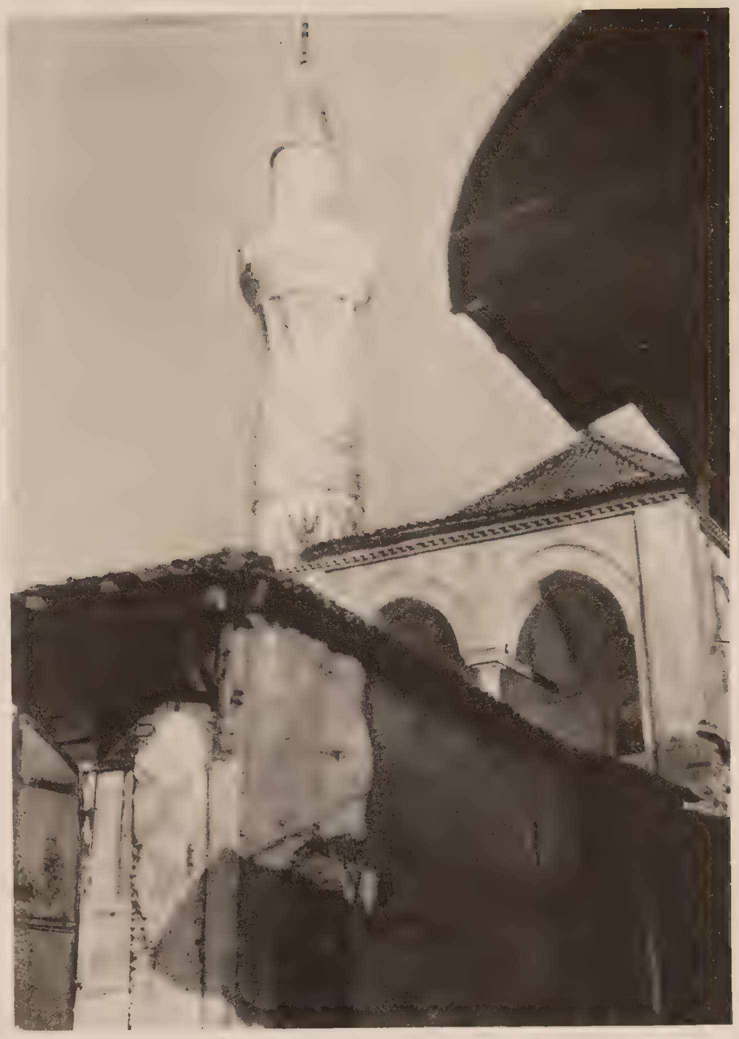


55. Tireh: minareh of Karahassan Djami



56. Tireh: small mosque near Karahassan Djami; zigzag fluted minareh

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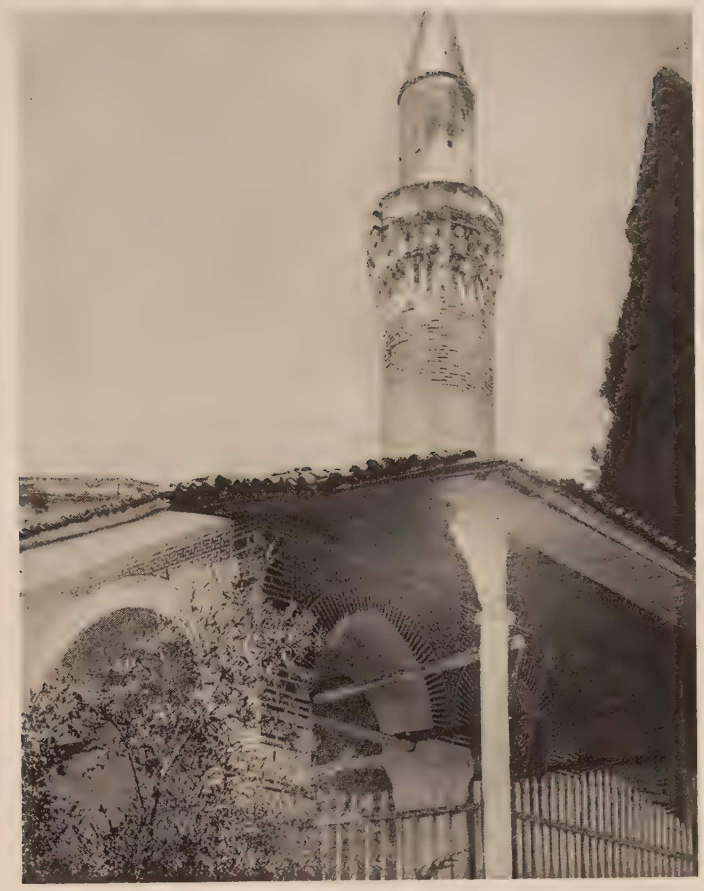
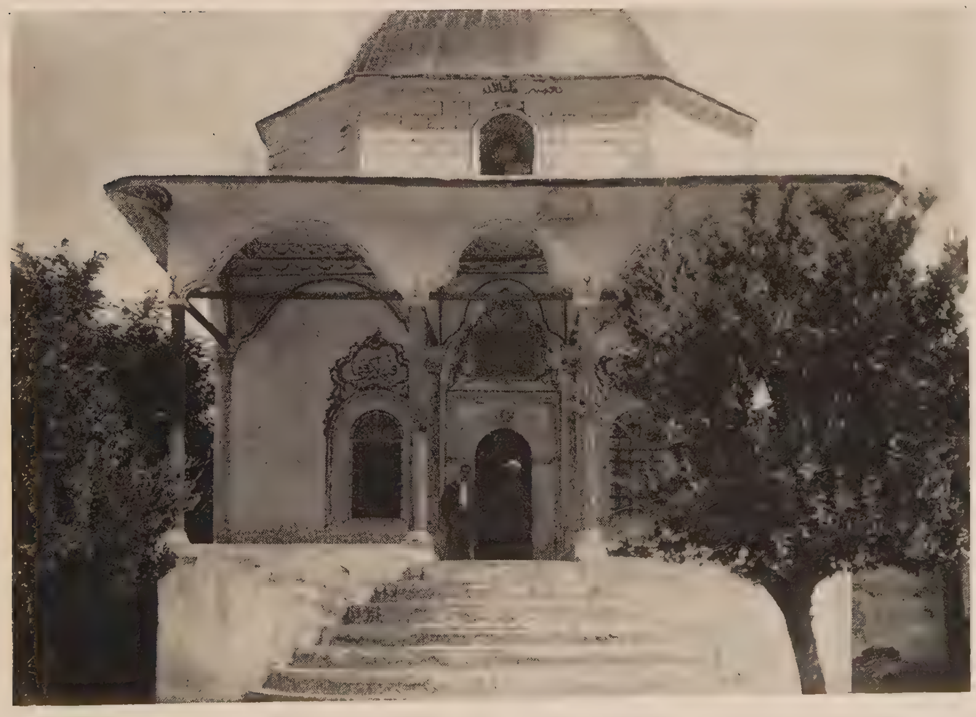


57. Tireh: Rum Mehmed Pasha Djami



58. Tireh: library of Bagdadi Nedjib Pasha

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the Pasha. The dome of the turbeh is supported by rather fine stalactite pendentives, which are not very frequent in Ottoman architecture.

A charming specimen of later Ottoman architecture is the little library founded in Tireh by Bagdadi Nedjib Pasha, which is now under the good care of the Muhafiz Mustafa Sabri effendi (Fig. 58). The square building, surmounted by an octagonal drum which supports the leaded dome, is reached by lofty steps. The entrance is shaded by a graceful porch, reminding of the arcades of the old house in Tireh. The interior is laid out with kilims and in the center is a small octagonal pavilion constructed of wood. This structure contains many pigeonholes in which are preserved the books the Pasha collected in the Iraq and had bound, as needed, in a fine uniform binding.

Among the treasures of the library is a Koran in angular Kufic on paper, measuring 21 x 14½ cm. It is said to have been written in 99 A.H. and to have been acquired by the Pasha from the library of one Hassan Basri. The first statement cannot be true, for the sheet containing the colophon is by a later hand. Nevertheless the manuscript is a fine and rare specimen, which I would date in the fifth or sixth century A.H. (Fig. 59).

The other book of value is the divan of Muhammad Selim, written in 1212 A.H. (1797/8 A.D.) and measuring 23 x 13 cm. At the beginning of this charming book are three pages with the finest paper-cut work I have ever seen. The art of reproducing writing not by writing but by cutting the letters in paper and pasting them on an appropriate background is an early one. I have seen pages of Djagatai poems written in Herat towards the end of the ninth century A.H., which offer beautiful specimens. In other cases the writing is cut out of the upper page, which is then laid on a differently colored background. If the upper page is white and the page below pale blue, the writing would appear in pale blue on white ground.

This same technique is used to produce floral designs; I recollect, for instance, the fine muraqqa of Selim II in the Vienna National Library. This album contains among others several miniatures of Behzad and some very fine grape vine and floral designs executed in polychrome cut paper. There is in Tchinili Kiosk, Stambul, a rectangular box decorated in the same manner and made in Stambul in 1134 A.H. (1721/2 A.D.) by Eyubi Dervish Hasan.[1] The Divan of Muhammad Selim is decorated in the beginning with three charming pages, two on gold ground, one on dark ground, which show floral urns containing an exuberant wealth of flowers, one of them with branches and singing birds. All three pages are most delicately charming, the one on dark ground recalling the fine floral panels of the so-called Yali of the Koeprulu in Stambul; the others show that the inventive spirit and the delicate sensibility of Turkish art lives up to the best Persia ever created.

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[1] I am indebted for the reading to Dr. Mohammed Agha-Oglu.

Conclusions Concerning Tireh

Yechil Djami and Ulu Djami in Tireh are certainly worth studying, a possibility denied to me. But as a whole the monuments of Tireh cannot be considered as of first importance.

IV. THE MAEANDER VALLEY: AIDIN

The Maeander valley is the economic backbone of Anatolia. Its fertile plain, producing figs, raisins, cotton, and licorice root, once had two outlets towards the sea: Miletus (now Balat) formerly at the mouth of the Maeander, and Ephesus (now Seljuk) which can be reached by crossing the mountain chain between the Cayster and Maeander valleys over a not very difficult mountain pass. The distance from Magnesia ad Maeandrum to Ephesus is less than one half of the distance of Magnesia to Miletus. Both of these ports are today entirely filled with sand, and Smyrna is the only possible outlet. Almost a hundred years ago, therefore, a railroad was built which led the merchandise of the Maeander and Cayster valley to Smyrna. This railroad leads from Smyrna via Ephesus to Aidin, the great inland center of the Maeander plain. From there the road leads up to the Lycus valley, the main tributary of the Maeander; it again reaches the upper course of the Maeander, and ends at Egherdir, on the lake of the same name. Its natural continuation will some day run towards Konia, unless the less costly connection with Tchai further west on the Konia railroad will be chosen.

I traveled on this road as far as Baladis, just north of Lake Buldur, from where the highway towards Antalia branches off. I stopped in Aidin to see what Turkish antiquities might be preserved in that city,[1] omitting Gondjarly where the Ak Han has already been studied by Sarre. From the train I noticed the hitherto unrecorded Seljuk Han of Chardak, which I hope to survey in some later year.

The City of Aidin

The city of Aidin is listed in the Baedecker of 1914 as having 35,000 inhabitants, with the added statement that the city was once much more populous. The war and the ensuing exodus of Greeks and Armenians have reduced the the population to about 16,000. Furthermore the greater part of the city was burnt down during the Greek retreat, and the struggle to rebuild the city and to infuse new life into its economic structure has been hard (Figs. 63, 64).

Aidin belonged to the territory of the Seljuks. It is named after the founder of one of the emirats of the eighth century. It must have been an important

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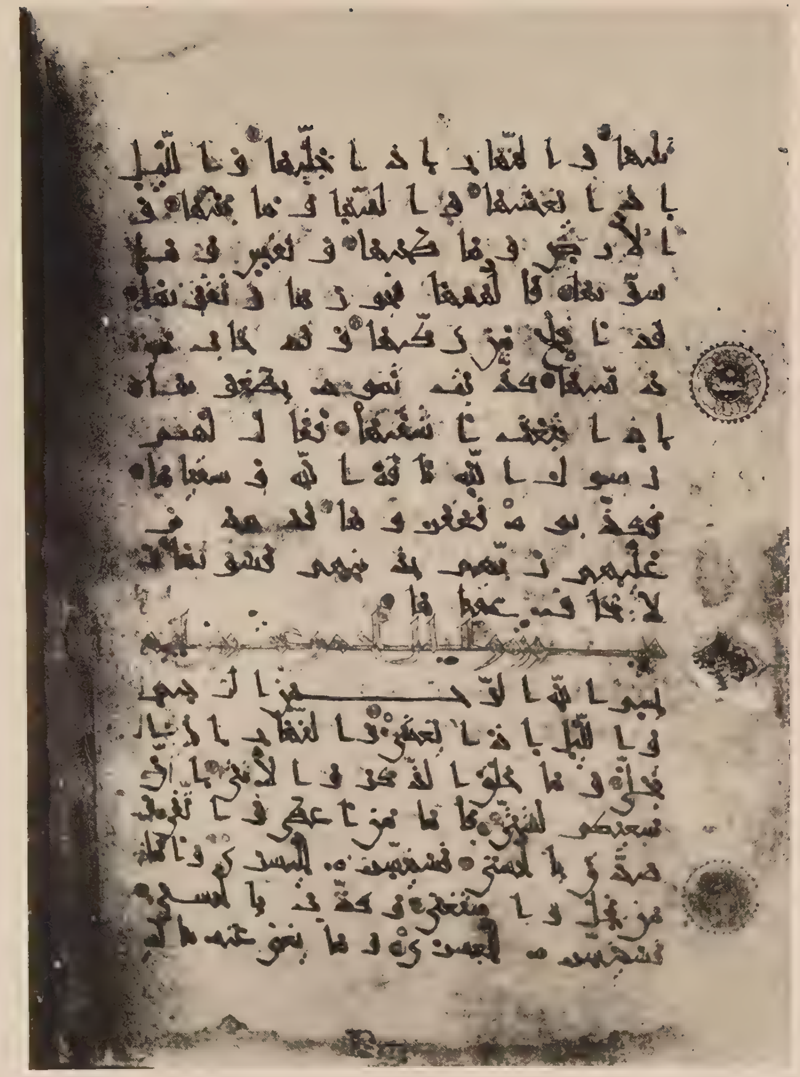
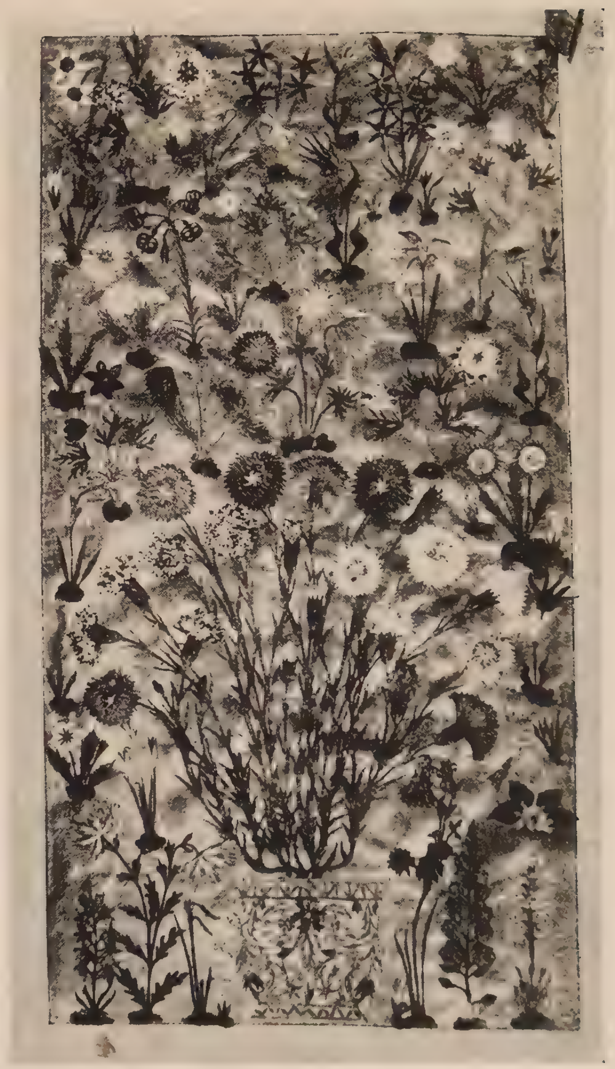
[1] A second short visit to Aidin was made in the summer of 1929.



59. Tireh: Bagdadi Nedjib Pasha Library; page of Koran on paper in Karmate Kufic writing



60. Tireh: Bagdadi Nedjib Pasha Library; decorative page executed in cut work from Divan of Muhammad Selim (dated 1212 A.H.; 1797/8 A.D.)

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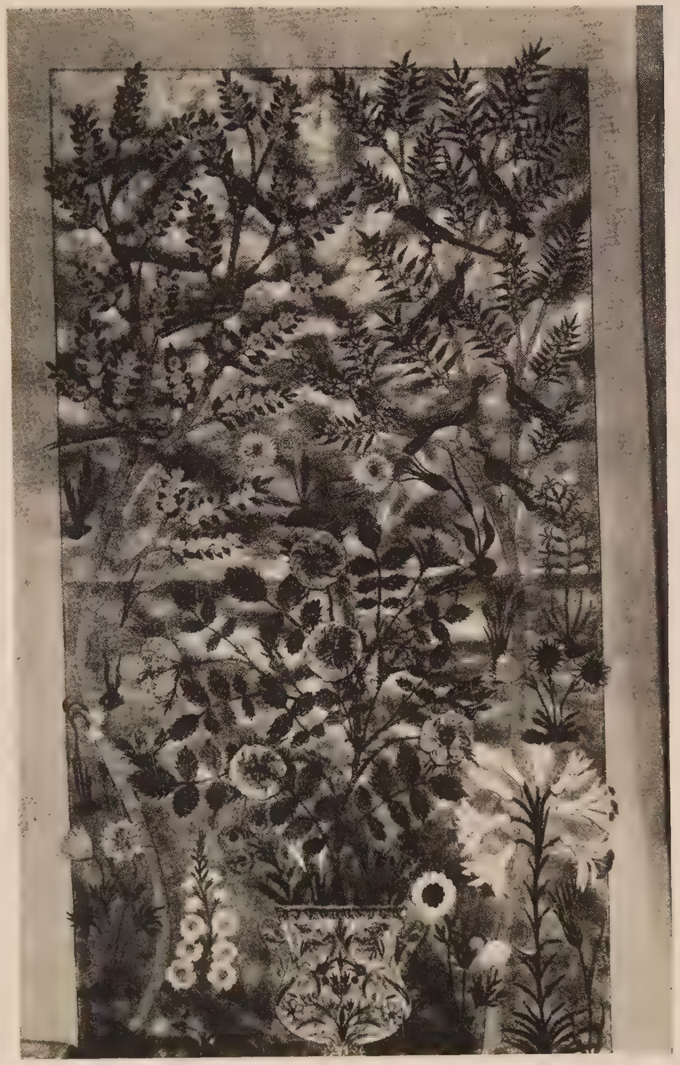
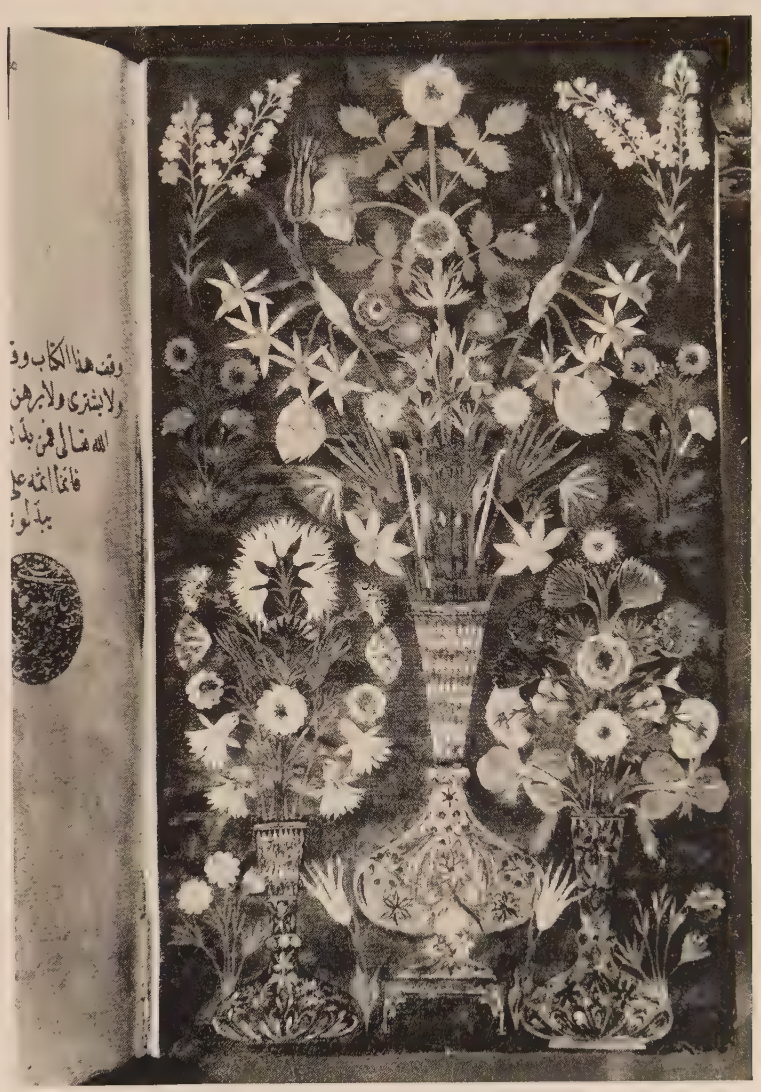


61. Same as 60



62. Same as 60

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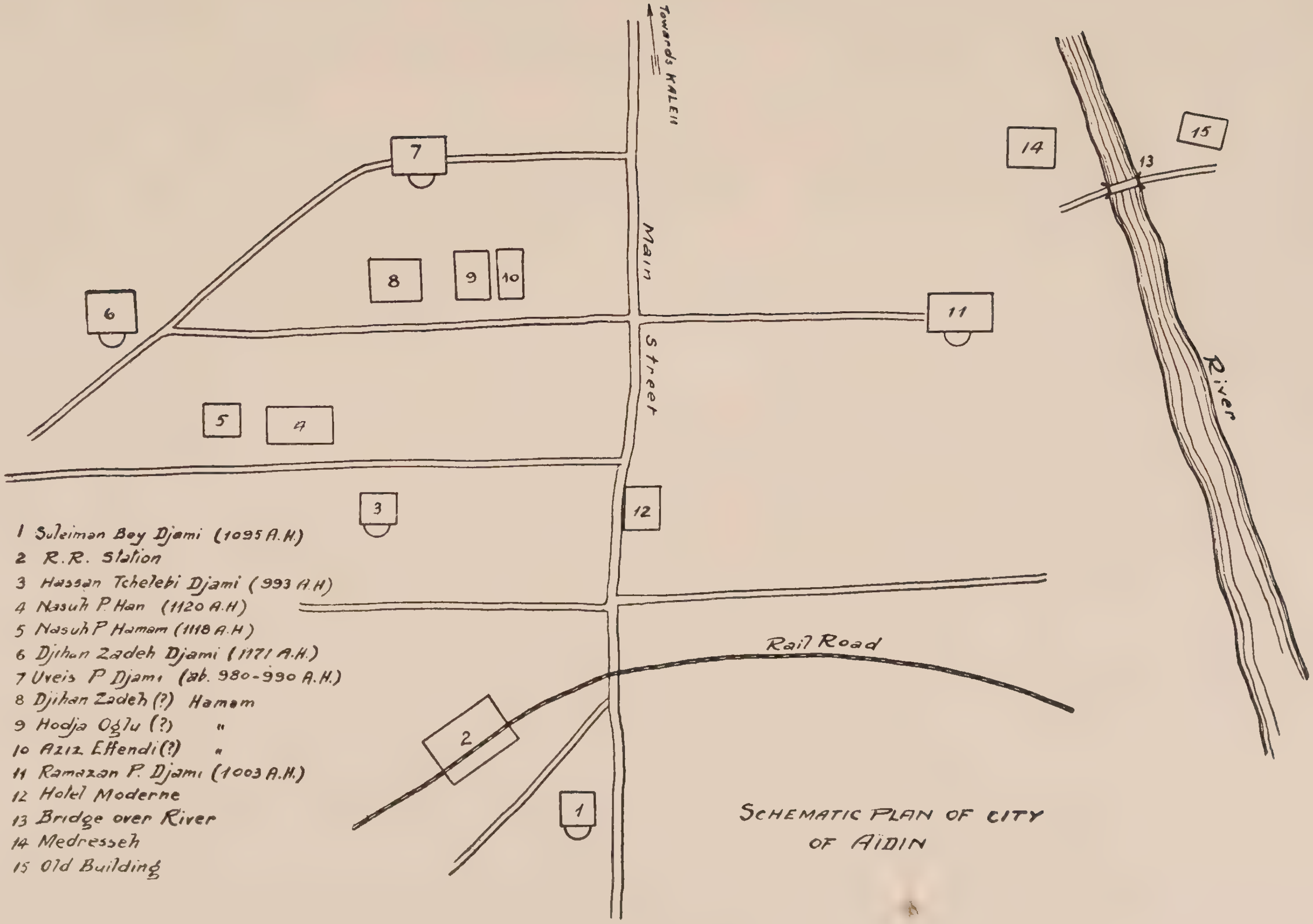
Towards KALEH
Main Street
River
Rail Road
SCHEMATIC PLAN OF CITY OF AIDIN
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
1 Suleiman Bey Djami (1095 A.H.)
2 R.R. Station
3 Hassan Tchelebi Djami (993 A.H)
4 Nasuh P. Han (1120 A.H)
5 Nasuh P Hamam (1118 A.H)
6 Djihan Zadeh Djami (1171 A.H.)
7 Uveis P Djami (ab. 980-990 A.H.)
8 Djihan Zadeh (?) Hamam
9 Hodja Oglu (?) "
10 Aziz Effendi (?) "
11 Ramazan P. Djami (1003 A.H.)
12 Hotel Moderne
13 Bridge over River
14 Medresseh
15 Old Building

63. Aidin: sketch plan of City

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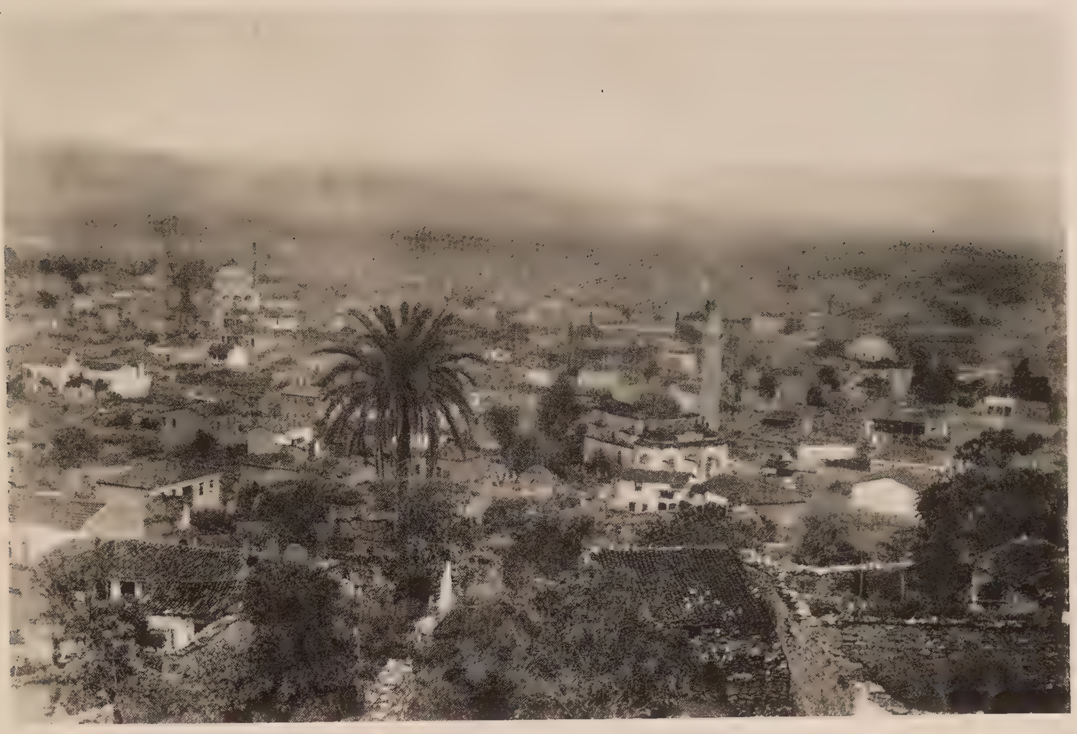
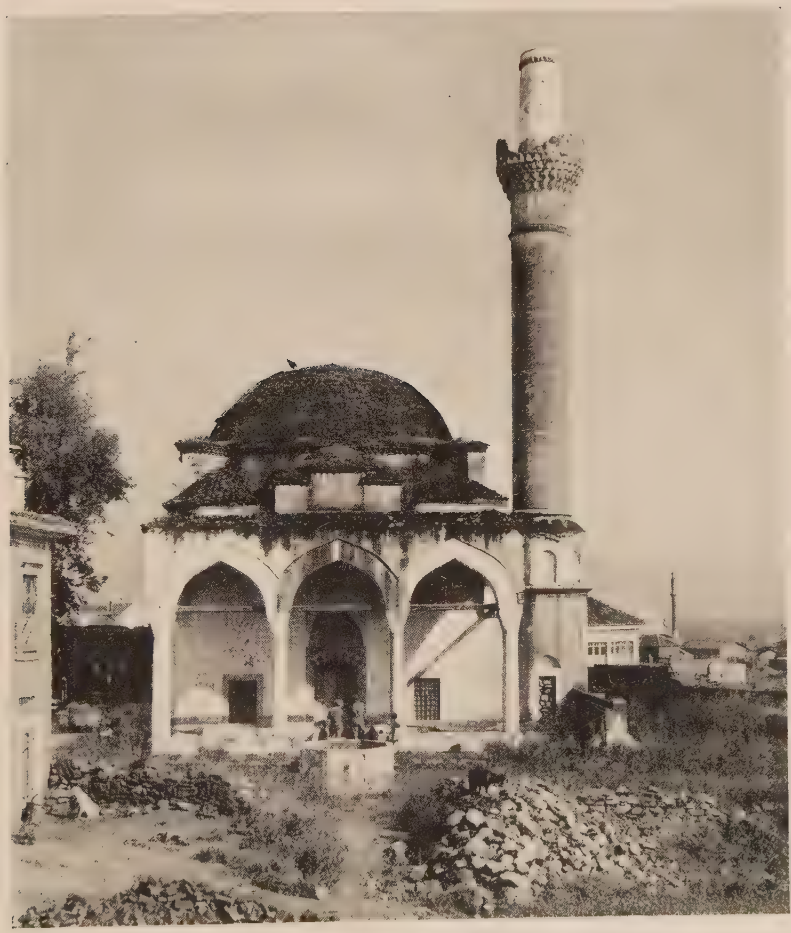


64. Aidin: general view from Kaleh



65. Aidin: Uveis Pasha Djami (before 998 A.H.; 1589 A.D.)

city in the past, and yet there is no trace of any mosque or other building of the Islamic period before the end of the tenth century A.H. Whether or not there has been a great destruction at a given period, I cannot tell. Perhaps it was — like Smyrna — a city mainly inhabited by "infidels."

Aidin does not contain any monuments of first rank.[1] To the kindness of Ahmed Bey, Mudir of the Evkav in Aidin, I owe valuable information, supplementing most usefully that furnished by the inscriptions.

Uveis Pasha Djami (no. 7 of the plan, Fig. 63) is used today as a depot for tobacco and is inaccessible. The mosque is a square block, surmounted by a dome; the plan seems to be the same as the type which we will observe in all other mosques of Aidin. Uveis Pasha died in 998 A.H. (1589 A.D.) (see inscription no. 27).

According to the archives of the Evkav (communication of Ahmed Bey), Hassan Tchelebi Djami (no. 3 of the plan) was constructed in 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.). The mosque is a tall square block, measuring 18 steps in diameter. Squinches in the four corners lead to the semispherical dome. The interior is void of rugs or interesting furnishings, but the walls still show the traces of the "Greek fire" of 1922. Minbar and mihrab are tall and well proportioned. The tribunes on the north side and on the northern half of the east and west sides are carried by stone beams, protruding about six feet beyond the wall. Hassan Tchelebi is said to have hailed from Edirne (Adrianople) and to belong to the family of Ghazi Nassir Muhieddin Baba, to whose family several of the mosques of Aidin owe their origin.

Opposite Hassan Tchelebi Djami is Nashu Pasha Han (now rather dilapidated): a typical Ottoman Han of rectangular plan, dated 1120 A.H. (1708/9 A.D.). Nasuh Pasha Hammam, straight west of it, bears the date 1118 A.H. (1706/7 A.D.).

Ramazan Pasha Djami (no. 11 of the plan) was originally built in 1003 A.H. (1594/5 A.D.), but an earthquake destroyed the mosque, which was reconstructed at a much later date by Sokollu Hadji Halil Pasha (communication of Ahmed Bey). Ramazan Pasha also is said to have belonged to the family of Ghazi Nassir Muhieddin Baba.

Suleiman Bey Djami, generally called Bey Djami (plan no. 1, Figs. 66,67), was built, according to Ahmed Bey, about 1095 A.H. (1683/4 A.D.) by another member of the family of Ghazi Nassir Muhieddin Baba. The mosque is the finest of the entire group, showing a powerful square block measuring 17 paces in diameter. This mosque too shows the traces of the devastation of 1922; the railing of the stone-built minbar is broken. The minbar shows traces of rather fine polychromy in black, gold, and red. The dome is supported by four squinches, within and below which are triangular stepped pendentives which lead to the circle of the squinch. The porch of the mosque is supported by very tall columns and the whole is an unusually well-proportioned specimen of a very common plan.

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[1] Aidin is the Tralles of antiquity. Some of the finest classic sculptures in the National Museum in Stambul come from Tralles. On the castle hill are the gigantic remains of what must have been a late classic gymnasium or thermae. Photographs of this building will be published in my account of my expedition in the Southwest in 1929.

In the center of the town is a very curious group of three hammams picturesquely piled one upon the other. Regarding the nomenclature of these hammams, confusion seems to reign among the inhabitants of Aidin. The westernmost was designated to me as Djihan Zadeh Hammam and would therefore belong to the foundation of Djihan Zadeh Djami, which will be discussed below. The two others (nos. 9, 10 of the plan) are situated side by side, but are not a double hammam. They are called Hodja Oglu and Aziz Effendi Hammam. I offer these names with reservations.

Northeast of Ramazan Pasha Djami is a bridge over the Tabak Tchai, the ancient Eudon. West of the bridge is a tumbledown medresseh. On the eastern bank is a curious building, to which I could not gain access, that might be of Byzantine origin.

The most important mosque in Aidin is Djihan Zadeh Djami, a mosque built, according to its inscription, in 1170 A.H. (1756 A.D.) Figs. 69–73 (inscription no. 28) and therefore at an exceedingly late period. Walking towards the mosque from the center of the town, one encounters first a turbeh and a charming sebil (fountain). The mosque itself stands on an artificial platform, and to reach the stairs leading to it one crosses a passage with pointed-arch vault of an almost Gothic feeling (Fig. 69). The necessity of such a vaulted passage is difficult to understand. Many of its features, the pointed arches, the curious mouldings (torus and cavetto, separated by a fillet), the decorative use of mouldings in the interior, are all just so many problems. Perhaps the study of the remaining substructure of the mosque — which I was not able to attempt — will answer the numerous questions raised by this part, which I cannot help suspecting of an earlier date than the rest. [1]

Ascending a few steps one enters the courtyard of the mosque which is of irregular shape. The north and east sides of the courtyard show a graceful arcade with pointed arches, supported by columns, behind which are the domed cells of a medresseh (Fig. 70). In the middle of the courtyard is a fountain under a domed canopy supported by an arcade on twelve richly carved columns (Fig. 71). The spandrils of the arcade show delightful floral patterns, like those we know from the fountains of Ahmed III in Stambul (Top Hane, Azab Kapu, Bab i Humayun, Kavatash, and others of minor importance) or

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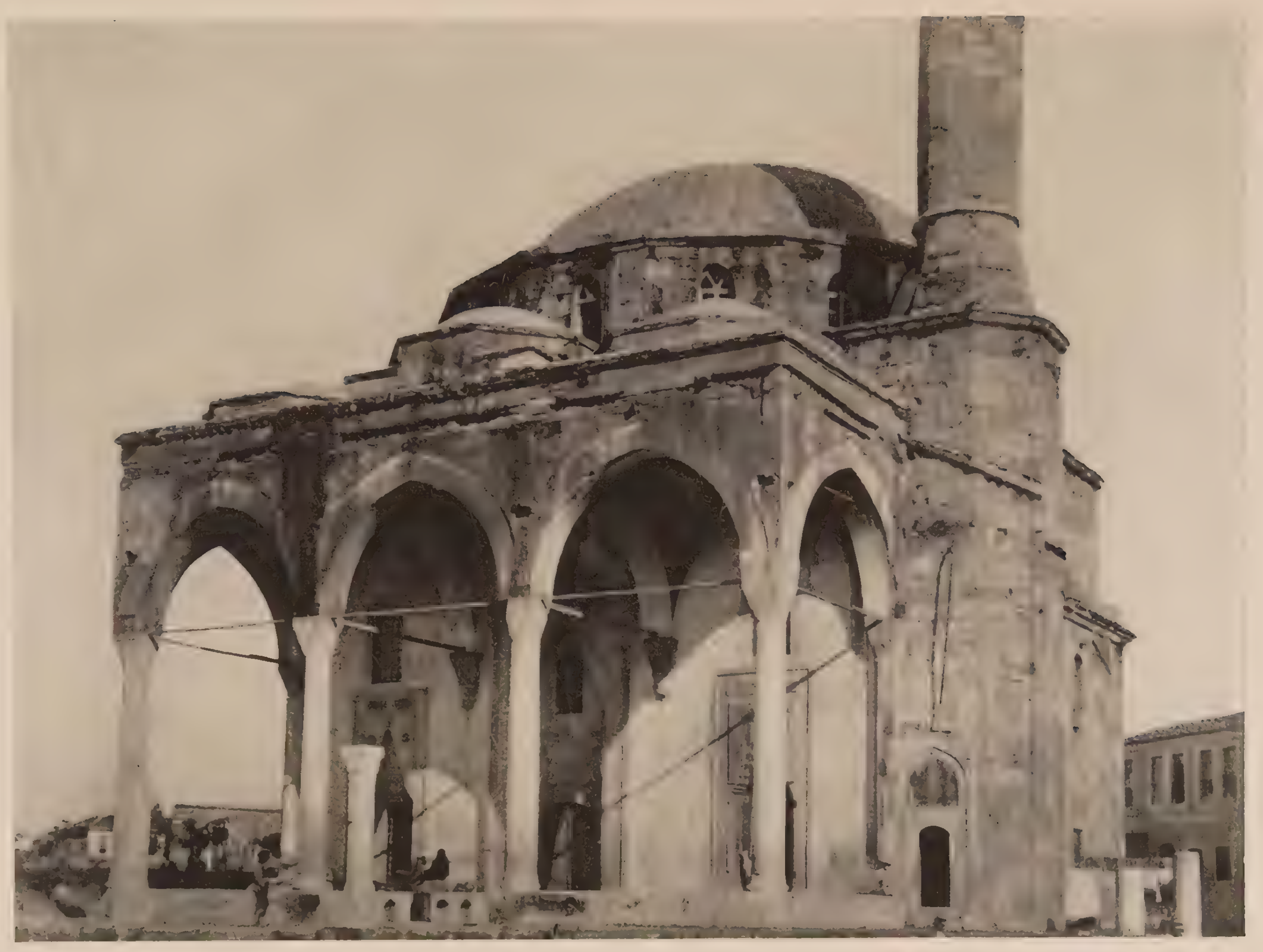
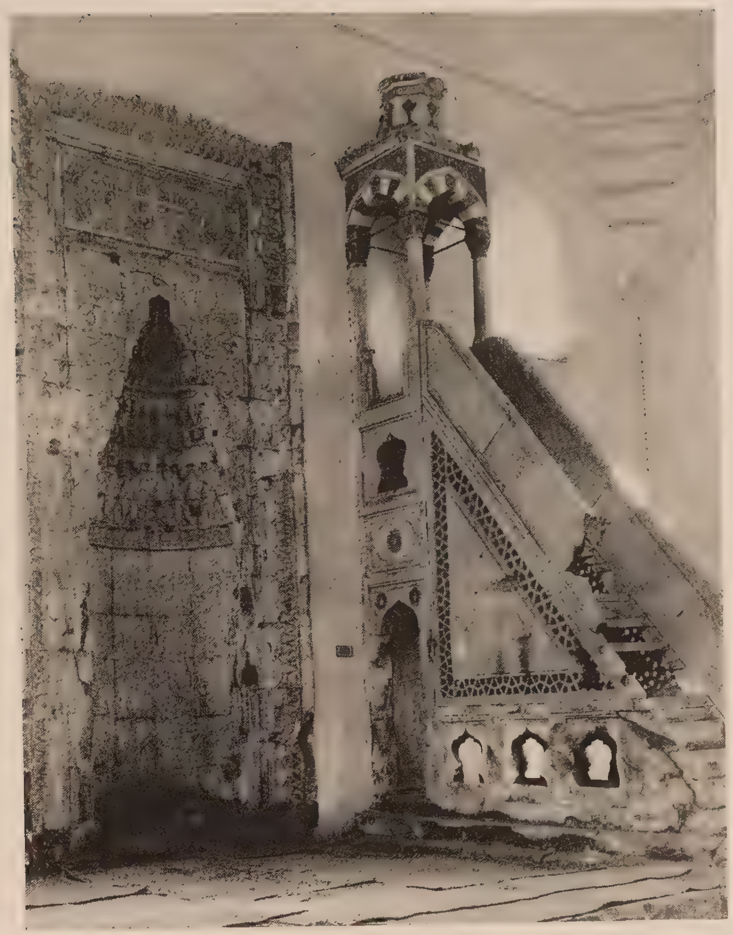
[1] I studied this structure again in 1929. Neither I nor my architect-assistant, Mr. Martin Charles, was able to come to any more definite conclusions.



66. Aidin, Suleiman Bey Djami: view of façade (probably 1095 A.H.; 1683/4 A.D.)



67. Aidin: mihrab and minbar of Suleiman Bey Djami

68. Aidin, Djihan Zadeh Djami (1170 A.H.; 1756 A.D.): general view

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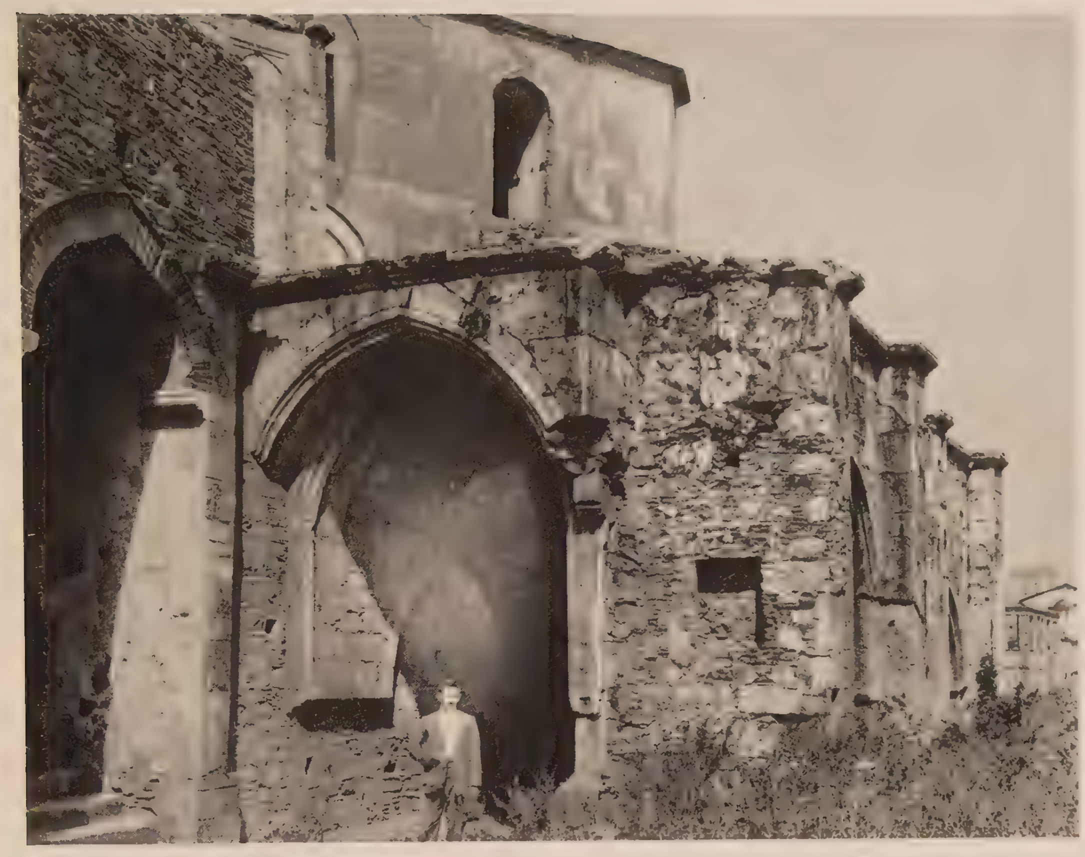
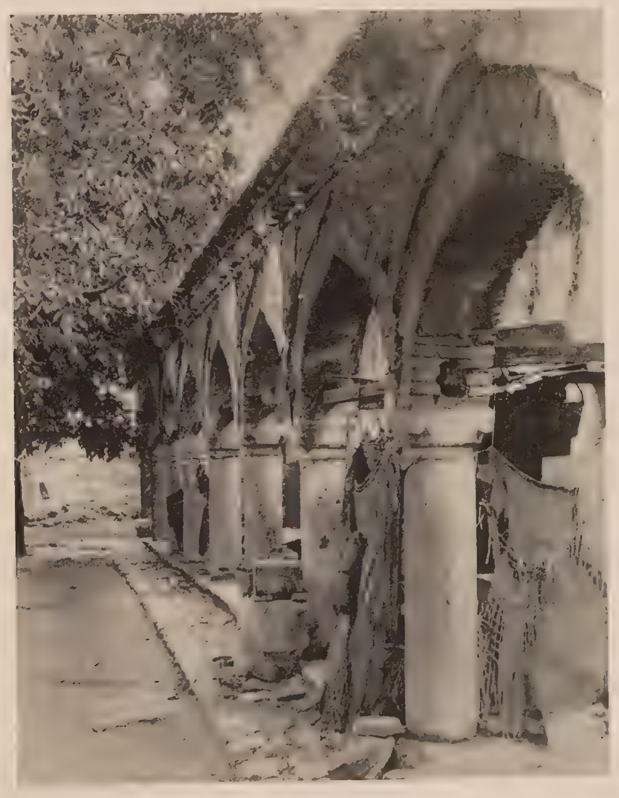
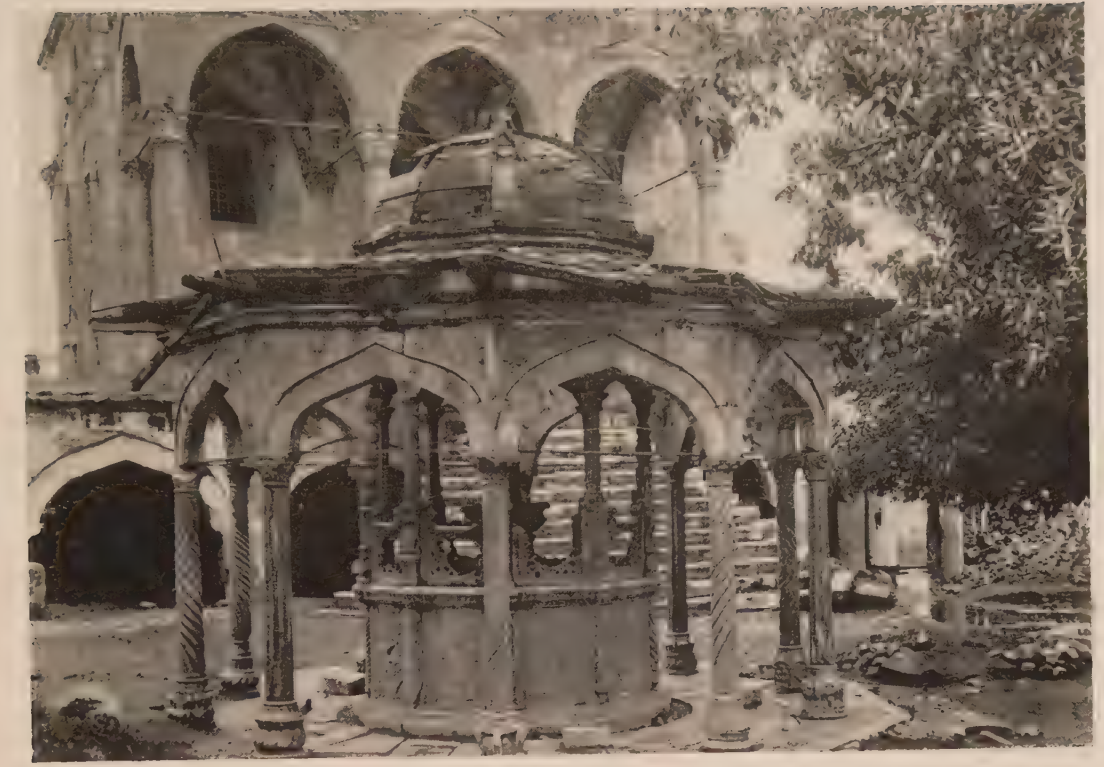


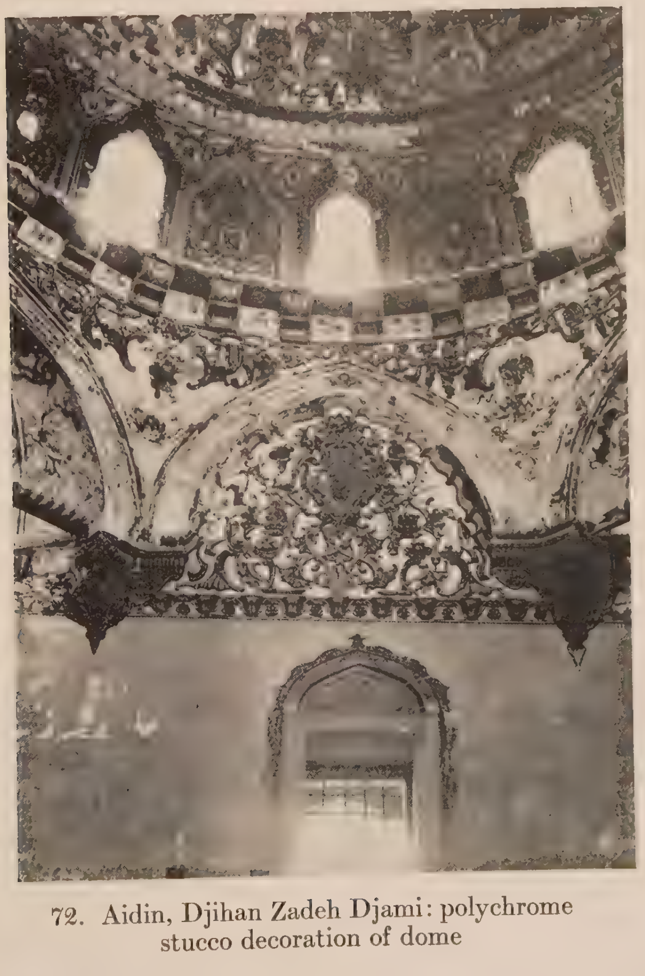
69. Aidin, Djihan Zadeh Djami: passageway on southwest side of mosque



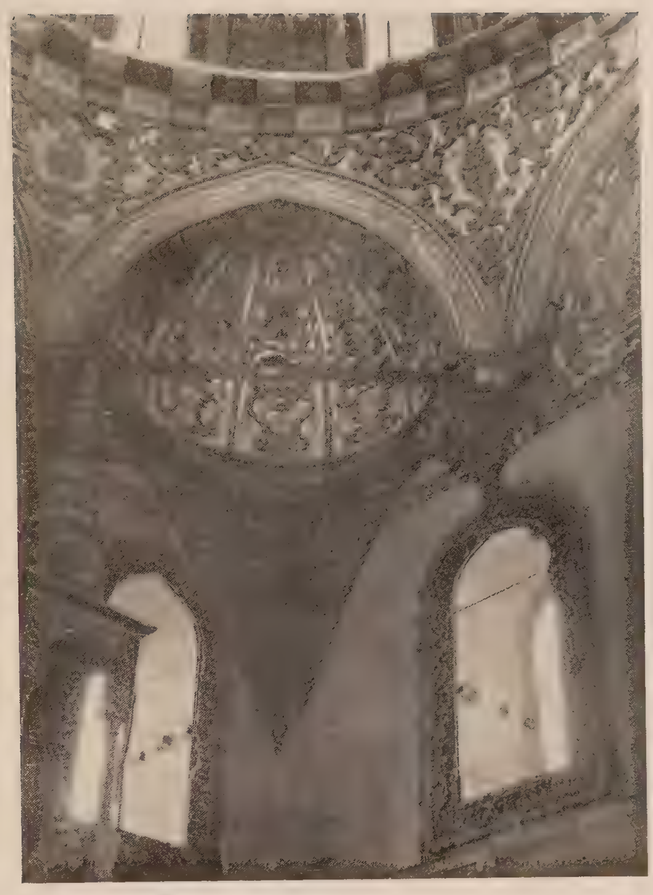
70. Aidin, Djihan Zadeh Djami:
arcade of medresseh



71. Aidin, Djihan Zadeh Djami: ablution fountain of mosque



72. Aidin, Djihan Zadeh Djami: polychrome stucco decoration of dome



73. Aidin, Djihan Zadeh Djami: polychrome stucco decoration of squinch

75. Antalia: port

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from the fountain near the Museum in Smyrna. The columns of this fountain are also most fanciful and varied: spiral fluting varies with straight fluting. The panels of the basin of the fountain are richly decorated; the whole is not orthodox at all but shows creative imagination. Rather than condemn a work of the "decadent" period, I will join the present tenants of the medresseh in admiration of this fountain, so important that — as they told me — "a German professor offered fifteen thousand Turkish pounds for it."

The mosque itself brings a still greater surprise. A flight of steps leads up to the platform which is clearly indicated by a low arcade of pointed arches. The mosque rises on this platform at an oblique angle. The porch consists of three arcades, the interior, — sadly marred by Greek devastation, — so far as I know, is unique in Turkey (Figs. 72, 73). It follows the usual plan of the Aidin mosques: a large square with squinches in the corners carries a dome. The whole interior is decorated with polychromed stucco relief. Many will be shocked by the exuberance of this Turkish Baroque, but here again it will be wise not to be too doctrinaire or Puritan. The whole ensemble is marred by the fact that today the stained glass is almost entirely missing. The windows were all surrounded by heavy, polychromed stucco reliefs showing garlands of fruit and flowers; the same gay decorations are observed around the windows of the drum of the dome. A bold rocaille decoration of characteristic Turkish flavor fills the spandrils and arched compartments between the squinches. The squinches themselves are supported by most curious rocaille "stalactites" and are also richly decorated. Mihrab and minbar are in the same exuberant style and the whole has the charm of fanciful decoration such as we cannot fail to admire in the baroque churches of Bavaria, Portugal, or Mexico — if sin it be, it is charming sin. There are other buildings surrounding the whole compound which once must have been richly endowed.

The name of the founder of the mosque was one Djihan Zadeh Abd ul Aziz. According to Ahmed Bey he belonged to an old family of Kotsharly. Kotsharly must not be confused with Gondjarly, further east, near which the Ak Han is situated. Kotsharly is situated about 17 kilometers southwest of Aidin, on the southern rim of the Maeander valley, and is said to contain an old tower and a stone-built mansion with well-carved wooden ceilings and stalactite decoration of stucco.

An interesting mosque is said to be in Tchineh, about 45 kilometers southeast of Aidin. I was not able to visit either of these places.

Conclusions Concerning Aidin

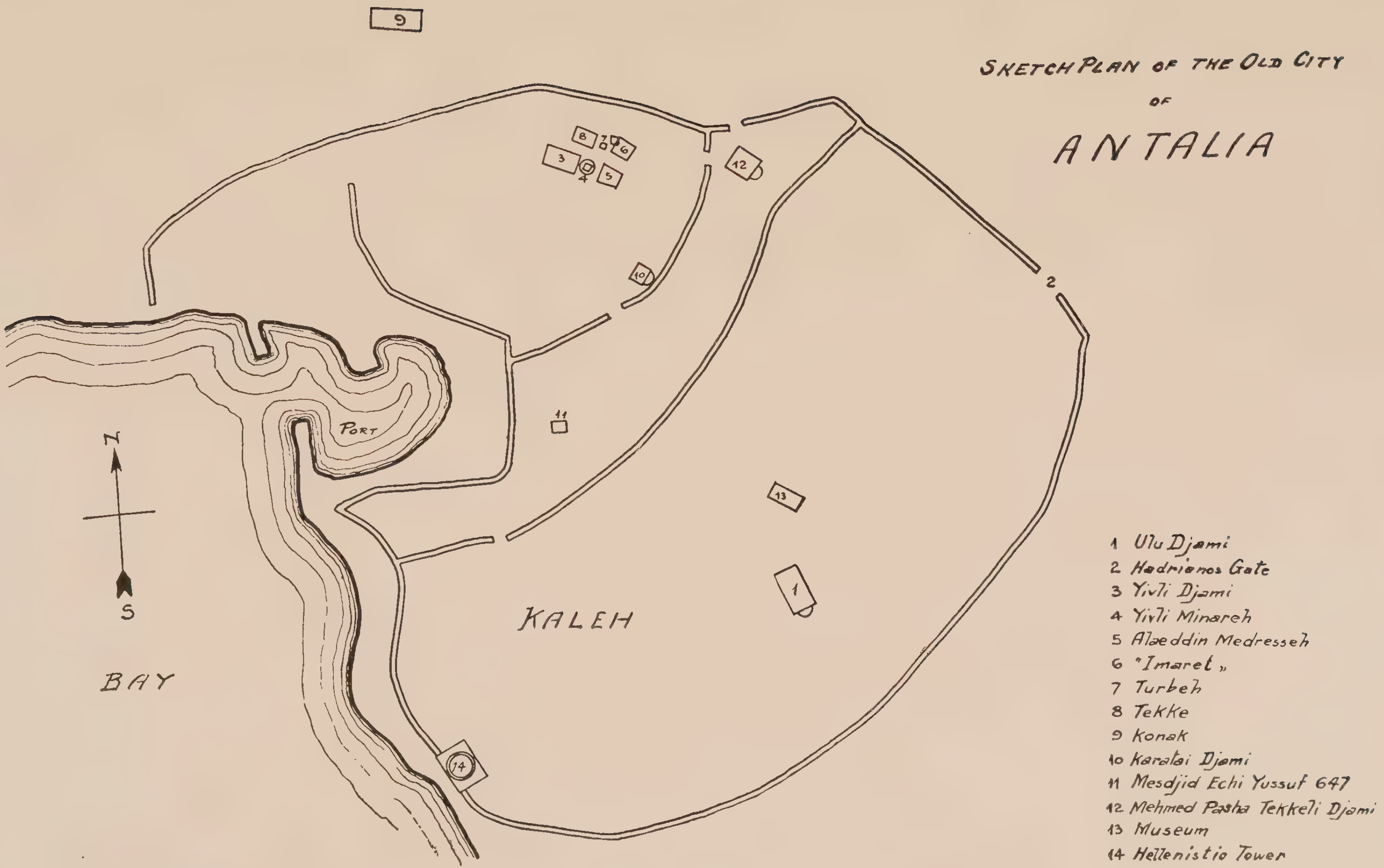
The absence of old monuments in Aidin is surprising. It is doubtful whether this is due to the fact that Aidin — like Smyrna — was a more or less Christian city. Although before the war the Christian element must have been very important, it does not seem to have been very important in a not very remote past. At least Murray's handbook of Asia Minor, edition of 1878, — generally most trustworthy, — gives the population of Aidin as from 35,000 to 60,000. The number of Greeks is estimated at 3000 and that of the Armenians at only 200.

None of the Turkish monuments are of first importance, but in a book on the baroque and rocaille styles in Turkey the charming mosque of Djihan Zadeh ought certainly to be duly emphasized.

The Kaleh of Aidin with its classic remains will certainly afford important discoveries.

From Aidin to Àntalia

I was not able to gather any information about a village called Tchifteh Han, situated on the Ottoman railroad, about 25 kilometers straight east of Aidin. Just before arriving at Adji Tuz Geulu, I noticed from the train what is doubtless the Seljuk Han of Chardak. I left the train at Baladis and spent the night in Buldur. The city of Buldur was sadly devastated by a terrific earthquake a few years ago, which destroyed practically all important mosques. The city still seems to contain some stately old houses constructed of timber. There is also a library, said to be important, which is not only closed but even sealed today. The highway from Buldur down to Antalia leads through beautiful scenery, first through the arid mountains surrounding Buldur and the Buldur lake, to an altitude of about 1200 meters and, from the height of the pass, on to a beautiful green mountain valley with snow-capped peaks visible all the time. As in the lower ranges in front of the high mountains of the Bavarian alps, I noticed an unusual wealth of beautiful flowers. The importance of this road in the Seljuk days is attested by the Seljuk hans: Indjir Han, Susuz Han. After several hours of driving through this refreshingly green landscape, the road suddenly descends in bold serpentines through a narrow ravine. At Kirk Geuz (the Forty Eyes) bridge and Kirk Geuz Han one reaches what seems to be almost sea level. In reality the plain, that stretches as far as the eye can see, is a plateau slightly raised above sea level, partly swampy, partly rendered sterile by the crystalline sediment of the water, which from now on runs generally in underground streams. Every few kilometers one observes the barrel vaults or domes of the well houses, which usually lead down to the water by thirty or forty steps. After the mountain coolness of the pass behind Buldur one is now in the zone of the torrid Mediterranean heat of Pamphylia. An hour's drive brings the traveler to a thin forest of maritime pines. Finally emerge the domes and minarehs, perched on a high cliff, of the city of Antalia, the most important Turkish port on the Ak Deniz, or White Sea, as this part of the Mediterranean is called by the Turks


SKETCH PLAN OF THE OLD CITY
OF
ANTALIA
9
8
7
6
3
4
5
12
2
10
11
PORT
13
1
KALEH
14
N
S
BAY
1 Ulu Djami
2 Hadrianos Gate
3 Yivli Djami
4 Yivli Minareh
5 Alaeddin Medresseh
6 "Imaret"
7 Turbeh
8 Tekke
9 Konak
10 Karatai Djami
11 Mesdjid Echi Yussuf 647
12 Mehmed Pasha Tekkeli Djami
13 Museum
14 Hellenistic Tower

74. Antalia: sketch plan of city

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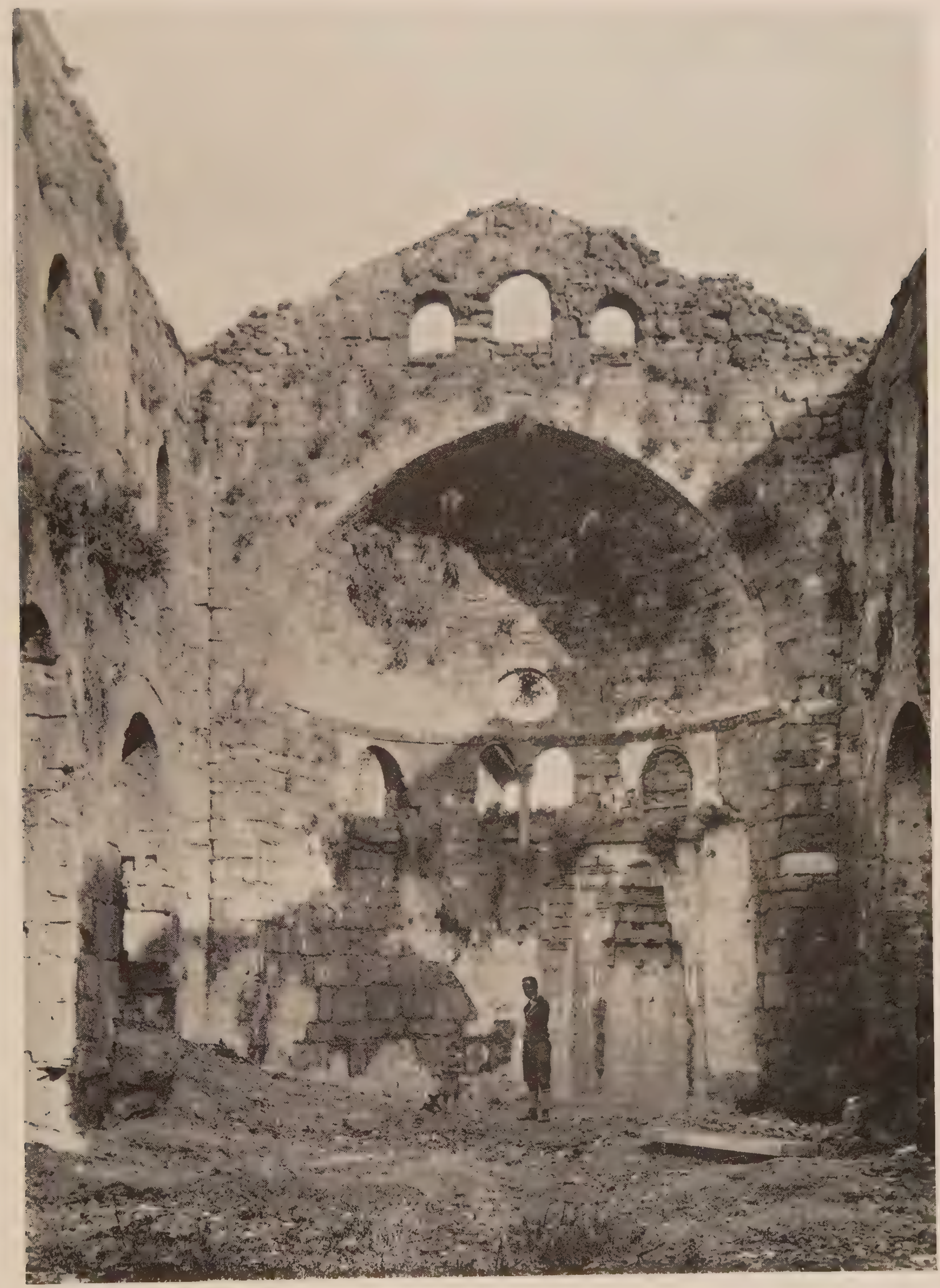
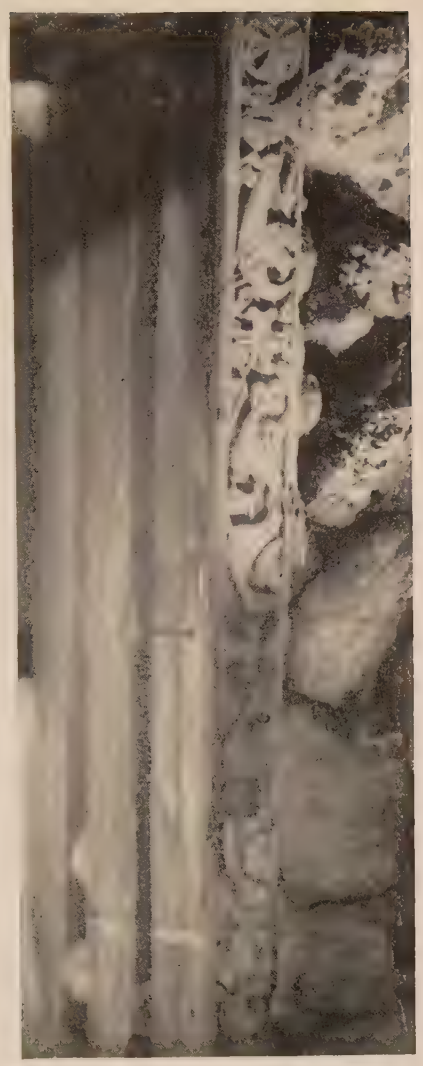
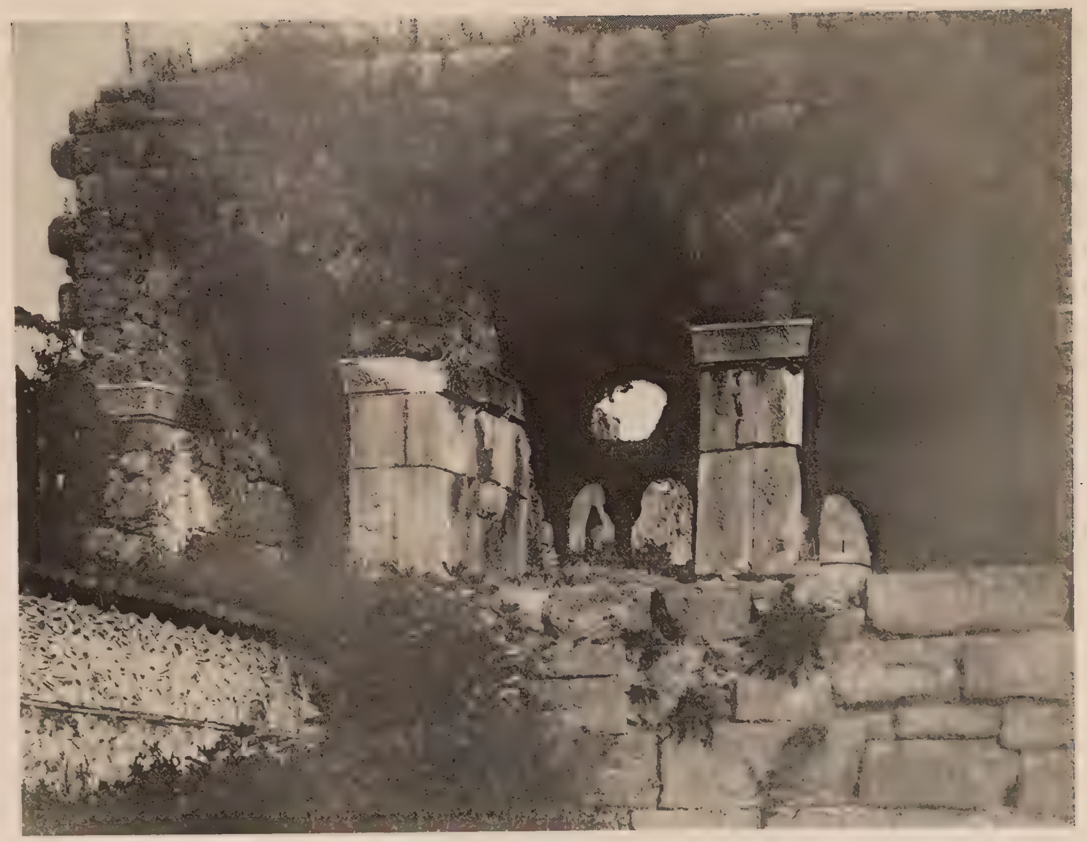


76. Antalia, Djumanin Djami: apse (5th century A.D.?)



77. Antalia, Djumanin Djami:
Byzantine wooden lintel
(7th century A.D.?)



78. Antalia, Djumanin Djami: south wall of mosque

(see the plan, Fig. 74, and view of the port, Fig. 75, which I owe to the kindness of Suleiman Fikri Bey, director of the Museum of Antalia).

V. The City of Antalia

Antalia is the ancient Attaleia. In medieval Greek the name is deformed to Adalia, but as the Greeks of the later Byzantine period have no sign to express the sound "d" (delta having taken the function of a soft sibilant), the sound "d" has to be transliterated by "nt." This spelling is taken over by the Turks. As early as the fourteenth century A.D. the spelling "Antalia" occurs in Turkish authors, and from the Greek spelling the Turks developed "Antalia." Since I am using the Turkish names throughout, I shall use here the name "Antalia," although the Greek form, "Adalia," is better known in the west.

The city of Antalia is divided into two parts, the one circumscribed by the old walls and forming a sort of amphitheatre around the old port, and the new town outside of these old walls, which contains a considerable number of mosques, hammams, and other buildings of the later Ottoman period.

This is not the place to describe the old town, which has been done by Lanckoroński.[1] Nor will I try to deal with the Seljuk inscriptions on the walls, as these interest primarily the epigraphist and have already been dealt with by other scholars.[2] I will limit myself to a description of the Seljuk monuments which have also been dealt with to some extent by Lanckoroński. I think, however, that my contribution will usefully supplement the Lanckoroński publication, since he, after all, was mainly interested in the very rich remains of the classic period in Antalia and its vicinity.

Djami Kabir

The oldest mosque in Antalia — not of Islamic origin — is the Djami Kabir or Djumanin Djami (Figs. 76–78). This venerable building is a five-aisled basilica of the fifth century, rebuilt and transformed in the seventh century to be later re-used as a mosque. The minareh is still standing, but the building has been destroyed by fire and has been abandoned. The mihrab was decorated with tiles which have all been removed. As an Islamic monument, this magnificent ruin is therefore hardly of importance.[3]

The building has been thoroughly discussed by Rott. At present the floor is covered with a thick layer of rubbish and stones, and it would certainly be worth while to clean out the building and see whether any valuable remains would be revealed under the rubbish. In the right side aisle is a very well-carved wooden lintel which must belong to the reconstruction of the seventh century. Although I had to photograph it in an almost entirely dark room, I was fairly successful. The lintel shows emblems of the cross alternating with gryphons and birds (Fig. 77).[1]

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[1] Lanckoroński, *Staedte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, I, 7–32.

[2] See the literature in the chapter on the inscriptions of Antalia.

[3] See Lanckoroński, *loc. cit.*, pp. 26, 27; pl. X; Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* (1908), pp. 32–46; Wulff, *Altchr. u. Byz. Kunst*, p. 232; Strzygowski, *Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 168–170 presumes a dome in the middle of the center aisle.

Yivli Minareh and Minor Surrounding Buildings

The earliest Islamic monument, properly speaking, seems to be Yivli Minareh (Figs. 80–81).[2] On this minareh is a marble slab with an inscription which bears the date of the reign of Ala ed-Din Kaikobad I (616–634 A.H. (1219–36) A.D.). The marble slab has evidently not been made for the place where it is now: it is set into a much larger niche at the base of the minareh, originally decorated with a geometric design in fayence mosaic. Nevertheless I consider it an indication of the date of the minareh, which must have belonged to an important mosque. The mosque has disappeared and the Yivli Djami of the present day later took its place. Its date is 774 A.H. (1373 A.D.) according to the inscription over the door. Part of the building of Yivli Djami must, however, go back to the early Byzantine period (see below). There is furthermore the so-called medresseh of Ala ed-Din, of which nothing but the lower part of the gateway has been preserved above ground. This "medresseh" is dated 637 A.H. and can therefore not belong to the reign of Ala ed-Din. It was built by an Atabeg Armagan. I am inclined to think that the stone in the minareh gives the date of the original mosque and the still extant minareh. This mosque was probably situated on the spot of the present Yivli Djami and was probably a Byzantine building, superficially adapted to the Islamic cult. For unknown reasons — perhaps it had been destroyed and abandoned — it was found desirable to rebuild this mosque in 779 A.H. and at the date of reconstruction a new inscription with the date of 779 A.H. was put over the door.

Until the advent of further evidence let us therefore consider the minareh as of the period of Ala ed-Din Kaikobad I.

The plan of this minareh is square at the base; through slanting, almost equilateral triangles in the four corners (with points down), the square transforms itself into an octagon which forms a short intermediate story. Then follows a short circular drum in which flat stone slabs appear as building material. The decorative coating of brick has evidently fallen off. Such a combination of a core of stone and coating of brick has also been observed by Herzfeld in the manarah al-Maksurah at Mossul.[3] Above this drum follows

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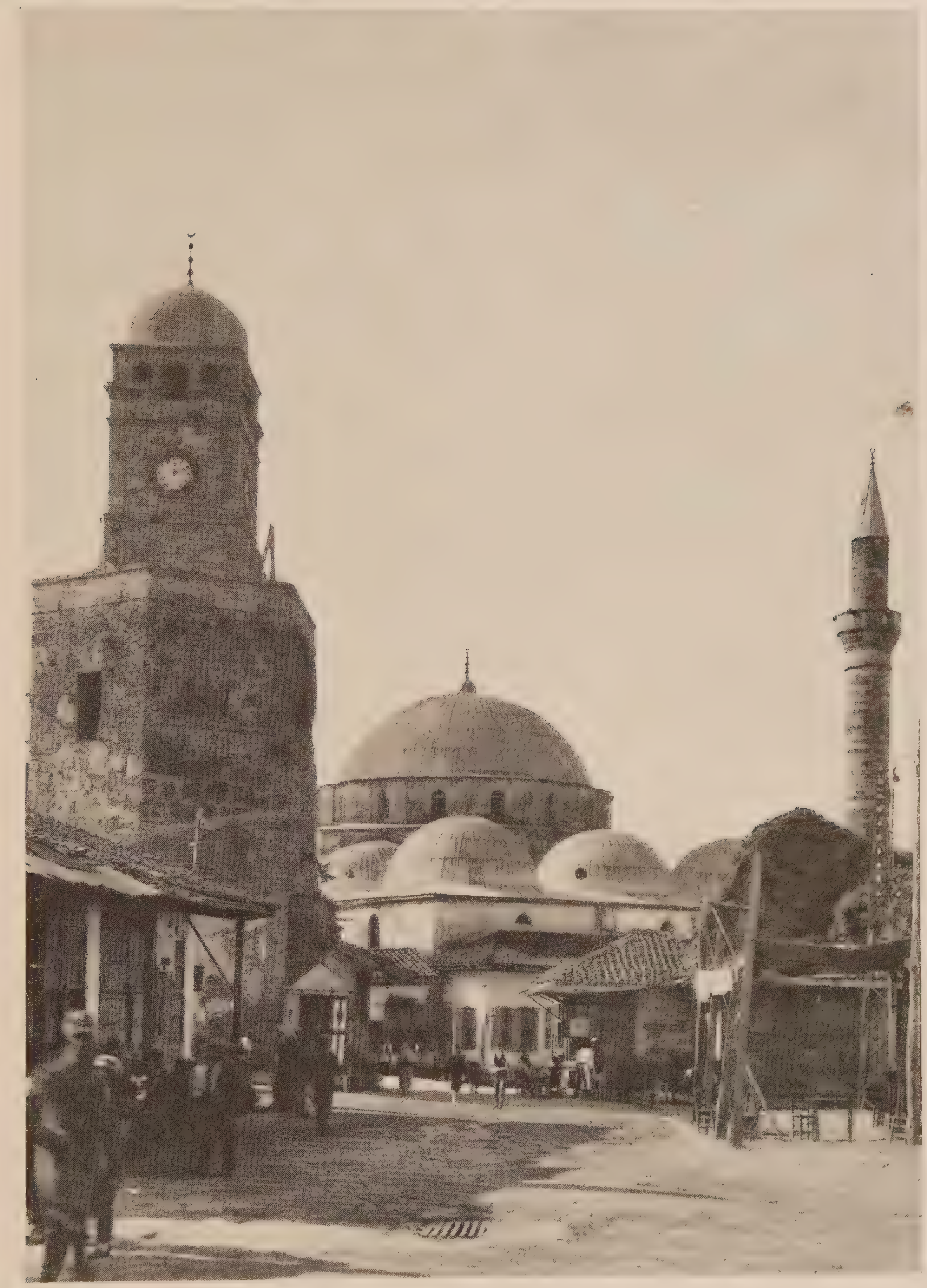
[1] Compare the wooden lintel of the sixth to seventh centuries in the Cairo Museum, reproduced by Dalton, *Byzantine Art*, Fig. 33; Strzygowski, *Catalogue général: Koptische Kunst*, no. 8781.

[2] See Lanckoroński, *loc. cit.*, pp. 27, 28; Fig. 19.

[3] Sarre-Herzfeld, *Reise*, II, 232.



79. Antalia: entrance into old town with Mehmed Pasha Djami

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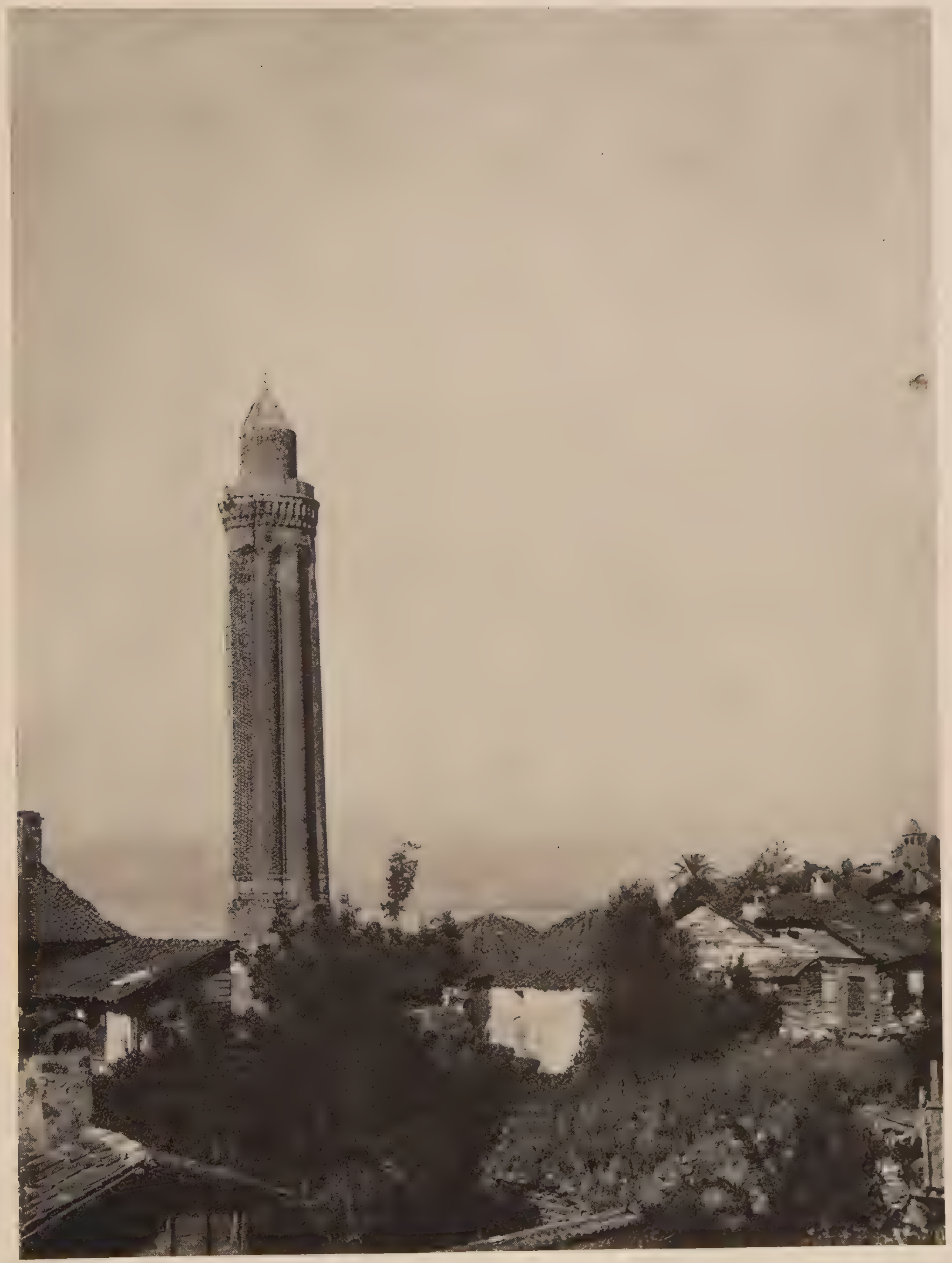
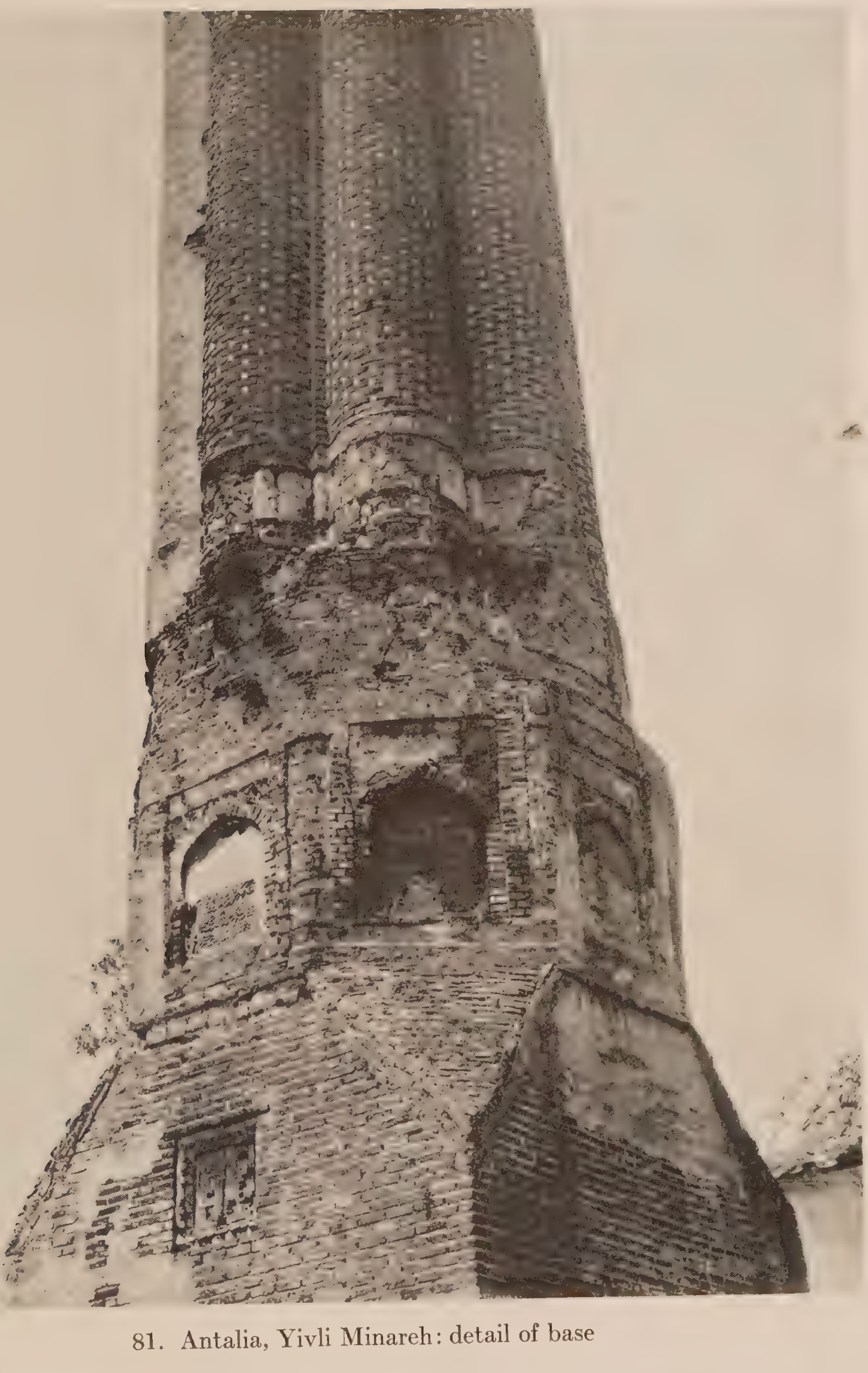


80. Antalia: Yivli Minareh (7th century A.H.–13th of the Christian era, probably)



81. Antalia, Yivli Minareh: detail of base

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the long fluted shaft of the minareh. The fluting consists of eight tori grouped around an octagonal star, the points of which appear between the tori. At the top a circular base for the sherifeh, or balcony, is formed by corbelling the spaces between the tori with bricks. The double stalactite cornice forming the base of the balcony seems to be original, while the stone railing is crude and probably of later period. The small, plain, cylindrical top (built in rubble) and the pointed cone-shaped finial seem to be original. The entire silhouette of the minareh is exceedingly graceful and lends a characteristic touch to the part of the city surrounding the harbor.

This minareh is of an unusual plan. The ordinary Seljuk minareh is of plain circular plan. Minarehs, or rather towers of elaborate polygonal or star plans, with or without tori grouped around, appear, however, for the first time at the period of Mahmud of Ghazna (388–421 A.H. [998–1030 A.D.]). One of his towers in Ghazna, Afghanistan, is of octagonal star plan, with thin fluted columns at the end of each point.[1] The same plan occurs in a tower of Masud III (492–508 A.H. [1099–1114 A.D.]), also in Ghazna.[2] As early as the tower of Mahmud of Ghazna is the Gunbed i-Kawus at Djurdjan in Persia, dated 397 A.H. (1006/7 A.D.).[3] This tower has a circular plan with eight triangular points protruding beyond the circle. The Kutub Minar in Delhi (built between 602 and 607 A.H. [1206–1210 A.D.]) has different plans for its three stories. The lowest story shows a great number of tori alternating with triangular ribs of equal size. The second story is formed by a bundle of tori, the third and topmost story consists of a series of triangular flutings.[4] The lowest story is somewhat similar to the plan of Yivli Minareh. The tower of Radkan in Persia (dated 602 A.H. [1205/6 A.D.]) consists of a great number of tori grouped around a circular plan.[5] The tower of Kishmar, dating also from the early seventh century A.H. (thirteenth Christian), shows tori alternating with triangles grouped around a circular plan, the same motif as that of Yivli Minareh and Kutub Minareh.[6] Three minarehs in Konia, both built about 656 A.H. (1258 A.D.), close the series. In the lowest story on each side of the square plan, the minareh of Indje Minareli[7] (now destroyed, but still preserved in a Berggren photograph taken before the destruction), shows three large tori with small tori between. The middle story was like Yivli Minareh, save that the points of the triangles are obtuse, while the top story was formed by an eightfold torus fluting. In the lower story the minareh of Laranda Djami[8] has a square plan with five tori on each side of the square; the upper story shows triangular prongs instead of the tori. Particularly curious is the minareh of a

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[1] Ill. in Glueck and Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam* (Berlin, 1925) p. 298.

[2] Ill. in Diez, *Persien*, p. 72.

[3] Ill. in Glueck and Diez, *loc. cit.*

[4] Ill. in Glueck and Diez, *loc. cit.*, pp. 312, 313.

[5] Ill. in Glueck and Diez, *loc. cit.*, p. 295.

[6] Ill. in Glueck and Diez, *loc. cit.*, p. 296.

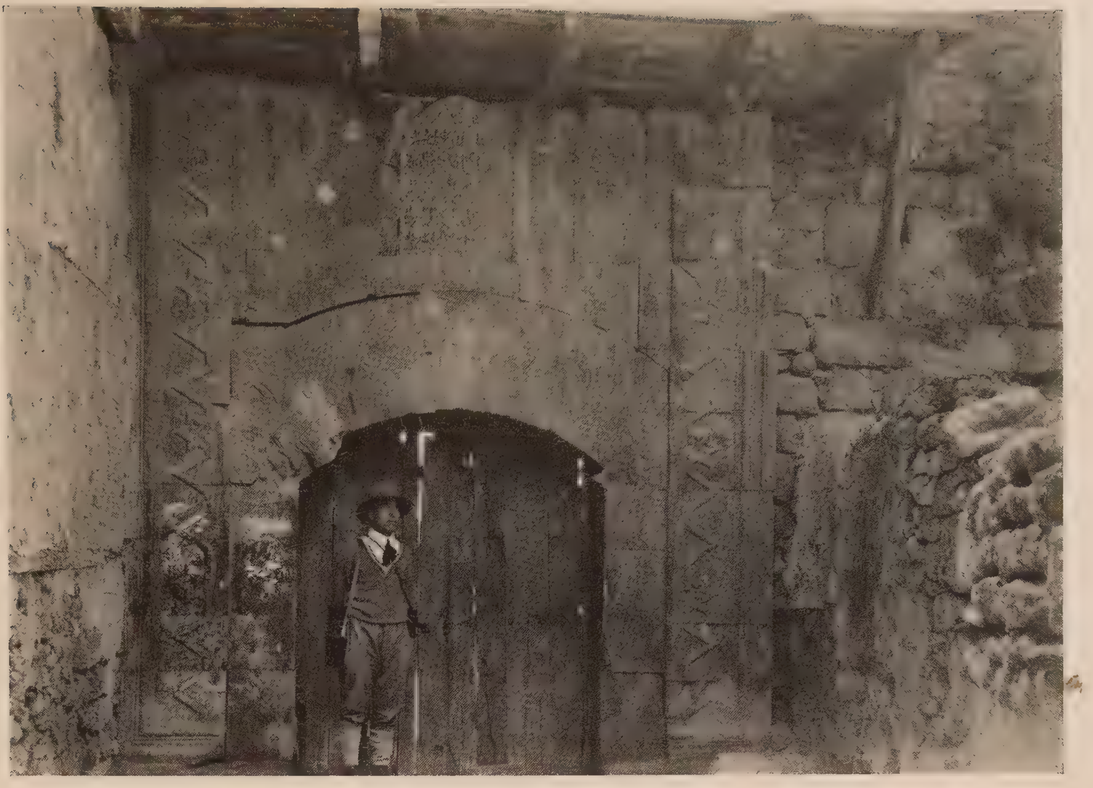
[7] Ill. in Sarre, *Konia*, Figs. 26, 28.

[8] Ill. in Sarre, *loc. cit.*, pl. XI.

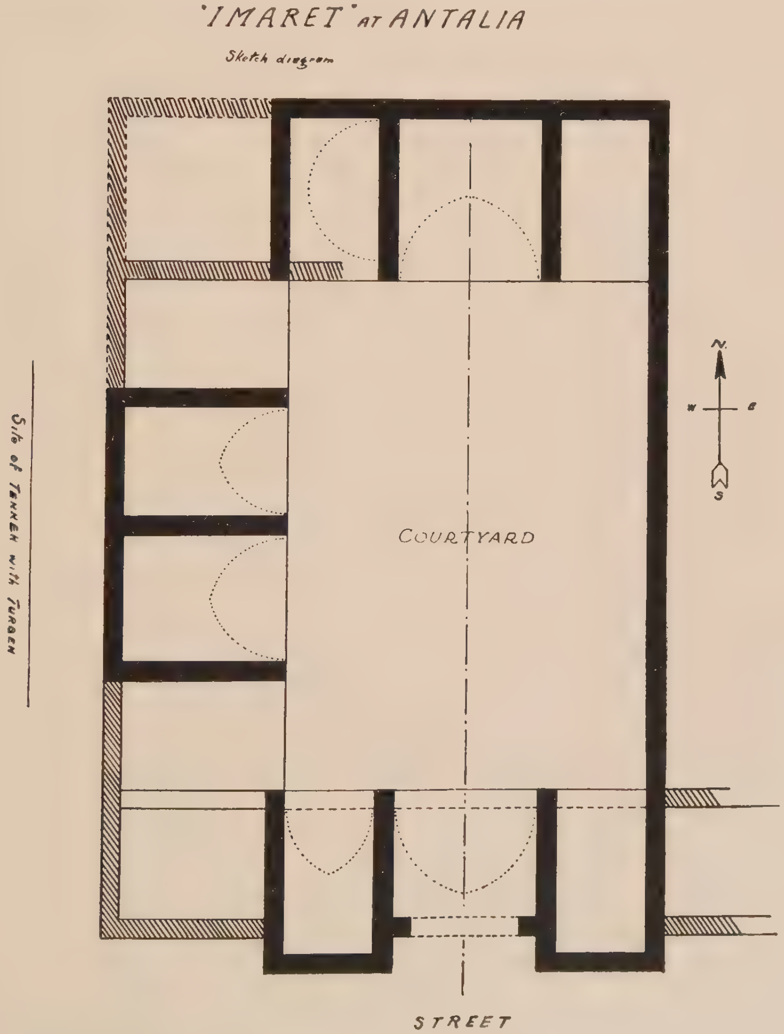
Seljuk mosque near the tekke of Sadr ed-Din Konievi in Konia, which is now used as a military magazine. The lower story is of square plan with a semicylinder in the center of each of the four sides. The upper story is narrower, also of square plan with a cylindrical shaft enclosing each of the four corners of the square. In the eighth century the minareh with triangular ribs or torus flutings seems to have gone out of fashion in Anatolia and was replaced by the heavy cylindrical minareh with polychrome geometric patterns formed by the brick. This mode of decoration seems to have been abandoned in the ninth century A.H., and the only form of decorated minarehs seems to be the spirally fluted (burmalleh) minareh or the minareh with zigzag fluting. In the study of these Seljuk minarehs we ought not to forget to make comparison (1) with the blind towers of hans and mosques, which sometimes show similar star plans or plans with torus fluting, and (2) with the fluted drums of domes such as that of the turbeh of Seyidi-Mahmud in Akshehir or that of the Tekke of the Mevlevi in Konia. It is apparent that Yivli Minareh is an important link in this chain of monuments.

The slim silhouette of Yivli Minareh is embellished by rich polychromy, produced by the alternation of red brick with a profusion of turquoise- and cobalt-blue. The square base is built in well-cut stone. The structure above shows brick on the outside. On the southeast side of the square base is a sunken panel filled with angular Cufic writing in brick mosaic. In each face of the octagonal section following is a sunken niche terminating in a keel arch. The sunken niche is decorated with brick mosaic in turquoise- and cobalt-blue, forming geometric patterns. Above these niches are sunken panels with Neskhi inscriptions in turquoise fayence on stucco ground. These inscriptions are not preserved in all the panels, and those preserved resisted all attempts at deciphering. How the round zone was decorated, it is impossible to say. But at its upper termination and at the base of the fluting is a double zone of turquoise-blue roundels, set in stucco. Above this was a broad band decorated in fayence mosaic. The stucco foundation of this fayence mosaic still shows the impression of the fayence slabs which have now disappeared. The shaft of the minareh is built in regular courses of flat brick; each brick is separated from the succeeding one to right and left by turquoise-blue squares. The rows of bricks rise diagonally: the middle of each brick corresponds to a small blue square in the following row.

Southeast of the Minareh is the entrance to a Seljuk structure, now vanished, which is called the medresseh of Alaeddin (Fig. 82). The inscription over the door reveals that this building was erected by the Atabeg Armagan in 637 A.H. (1239/40 A.D.) (inscription no. 6; Figs. 206, 207). It was therefore constructed after the death of Alaeddin. Whether or not it was a medresseh, is impossible to say without excavations, since except for the doorway the



82. Antalia, “Alaeddin” Medresseh: doorway (637 A.H.; 1239 A.D.)


'IMARET' AT ANTALIA
Sketch diagram
Site of TEKKEH with TURBEH
N.
W
E
S
COURTYARD
STREET

83. Antalia, “Imaret”: sketch diagram of plan (7th century A.H.—13th of the Christian era, probably)

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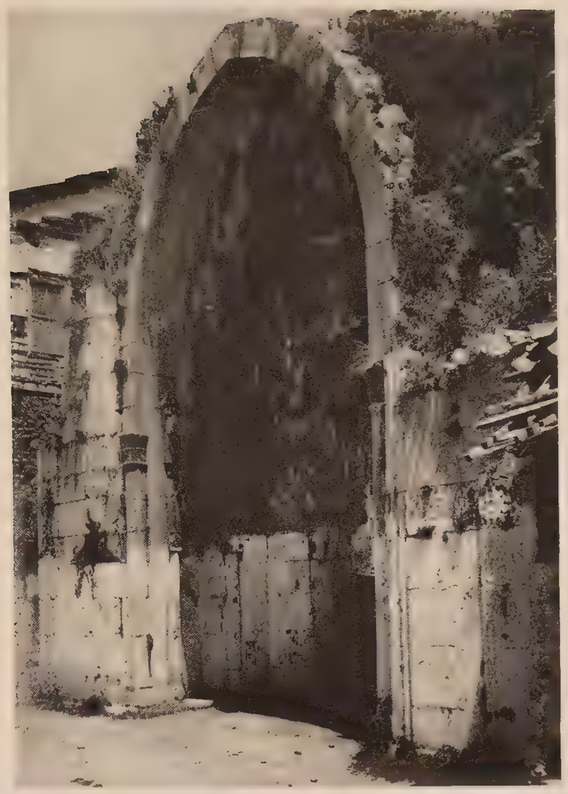
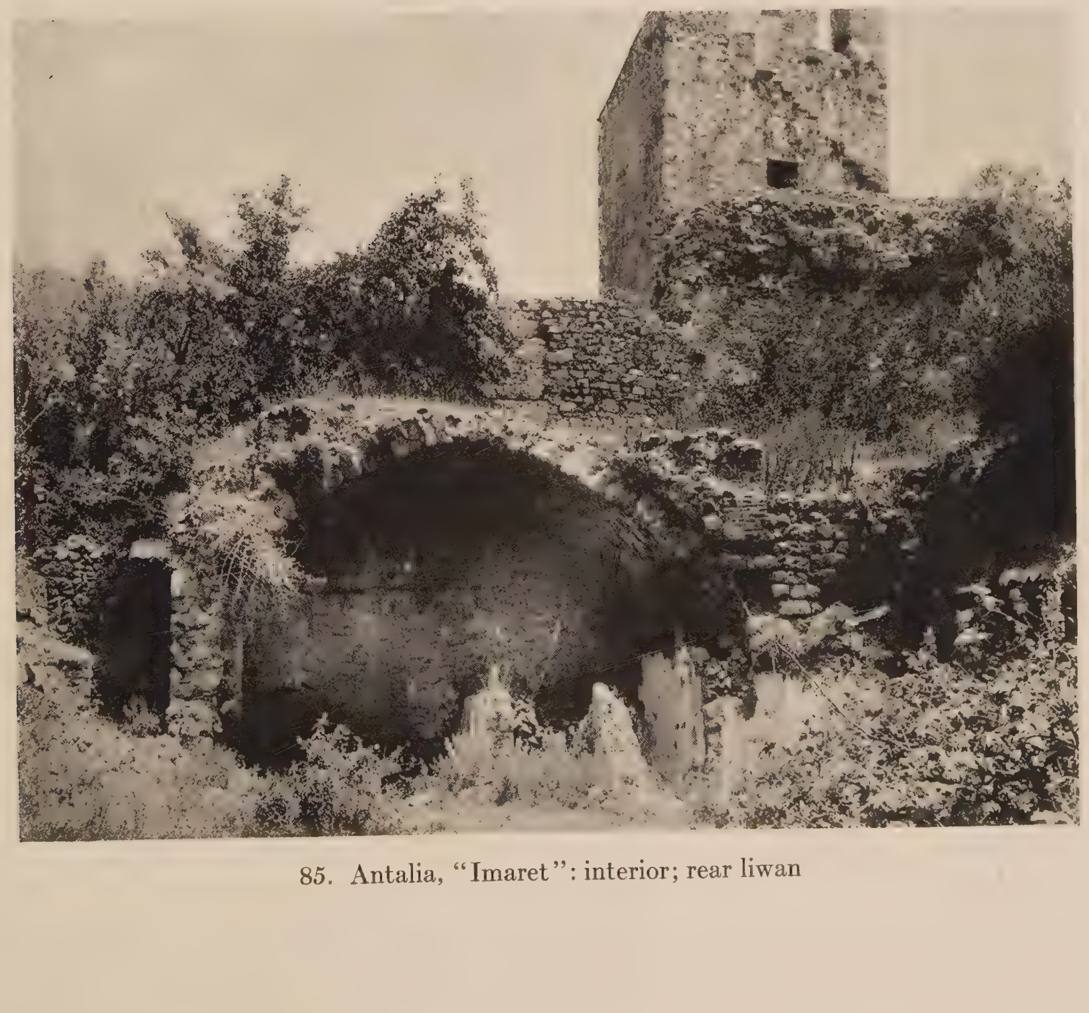


84. Antalia, "Imaret": gateway



85. Antalia, "Imaret": interior; rear liwan

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entire building has disappeared. The gate itself offers unusual features. As it stands today, the opening of the door is surmounted by a segmental arch, surmounted by the panel with the inscription. The whole is surrounded by a frieze of an elaborate dogtooth ornament. One would expect above such a gate a stalactite niche with seats on the sides. However, dogtooth frieze and wall were always a structural unit as seen by the identity of the courses of stone and by the occasional overlapping of a stone of the border into the surface of the front wall.

Opposite the "Alaeddin Medresseh" is a building which is called the "Imaret." Imaret is not necessarily a charity kitchen. The word can also designate a sanctuary (Yechil Djami in Isnik, for instance, is called "imaret" in the founder's inscription.) Whatever this building may have been, it has distinctly the plan of a medresseh. The inscription over the door, which is quite long, resisted all attempts with the camera; its writing is rather indistinct and as yet has not been deciphered by the experts of Antalia. However, it does not seem to be undecipherable. Until the inscription is read, any attempts to explain origin or function of this building are useless (sketch plan, Fig. 83; portal, Fig. 84; rear liwan, Fig. 85).

The barrel-vaulted entrance is somewhat subterranean, for the seats on either side are today level with the ground. Two engaged columns with a simple capital, the form of which is derived from the Seljuk double foliage capital, seem to support the wide arch of the rectangular stalactite niche forming the canopy over the door. The medresseh itself has a central courtyard of rectangular shape. To the left (west) of the entrance vault is a chamber with a barrel vault running north-south. The corresponding chamber to the right of the entrance vault had probably the same vaulting.

In the center of the north side of the medresseh is a large liwan with a barrel vault. The liwan to the right has also a barrel vault running north-south, while the one on the left (west) side is covered by a barrel vault running east-west — a noteworthy ignoring of symmetry. The entire north end of the building is deep in the earth. Today the right (eastern) tract of the building shows only a wall. Whether or not this corresponds to the original plan, will be difficult to tell without removing the thick layer of rubbish. In the center of the left (west) tract are two liwans with barrel vault, running east-west, the northernmost liwan being slightly the larger. The vaulting compartments south and north of these two liwans were probably vaulted in the same way. I did not find any traces of arcades in front of the right and left tracts above ground. The entire building is in very bad shape.

As it is, the plan of this medresseh seems to be in accord with the plans of better preserved medressehs with courtyards. The slight deviations of symmetry in the vaulting is not surprising.

West of this building is a cemetery which contains the pointed turbeh, called Qyran turbeh (no. 7 on the plan). Further west is the tekke of the Mevlevi, now closed, which, unfortunately, is not dated.

To take up first the description of the tekke: One enters a courtyard with wooden constructions of later period which were probably the living quarters of the dervishes. Adjoining, to the east, is a stone structure (sketch plan, Fig. 86) which consists of a chamber measuring roughly 27 feet square. In its south wall this room has a mihrab flanked to right and left by a door and a window. It is covered by a dome with lantern on straight triangular pendentives. To the east, but not in the center axis of the room, is a slightly raised chamber, covered by a slightly pointed barrel vault and measuring 25 feet in depth, about 20 feet in width. This room has also a door to the outside in the south wall.

We find here again the combination of a domed compartment with a barrel vault, which we have already observed in Hamza Bey Mesdjid in Tokat (815 A.H. [1412/5 A.D.]), Halef Ghazi Zawiyeh in Tokat (691 A.H. [1291/2 A.D.]), Timur Tash Djami in Brussa (about 806 A.H. [1403/4 A.D.]), Horos Oglu Hane in Tokat (undated, but no doubt about 800 A.H. [1400 A.D.]), and the mosque of Murad I in Brussa–Tchekirgheh.

This feature is also *in nuce* extant in the domed Seljuk medressehs, if we combine the domed center room with the rear liwan.[1] It seems to have had diverse functions: (1) combining the central room and the liwan in a medresseh; (2) combining the room for the ritual dances and the room for study and prayer in a tekke; (3) forming the central aisle in a mosque. I am inclined to consider the combination in Halef Ghazi Zawiyeh in Tokat as a similar combination of room for ritual dances and study room, as we observe it here in Antalia.

As stated the barrel-vaulted compartment is not in the central axis of the domed compartment. This is explained by the fact that on the east side there is another slightly pointed barrel-vaulted room, running parallel to the first one. But this second chamber is not in contact with the domed chamber and is entered only from the cemetery. There can be no doubt that this second chamber was a turbeh opening into the cemetery. It is of great interest to find such a vaulted turbeh of longitudinal plan in southern Anatolia; it seems to be a feature characteristic of the region of Amasia, Tokat, and Niksar, where I have observed a considerable number of them.

Considering the architectonic features of this tekke, it seems safe to ascribe it to the late eighth or the early ninth century A.H. (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, Christian). The date of the adjacent Zindjir Qyran turbeh may corroborate this guess.

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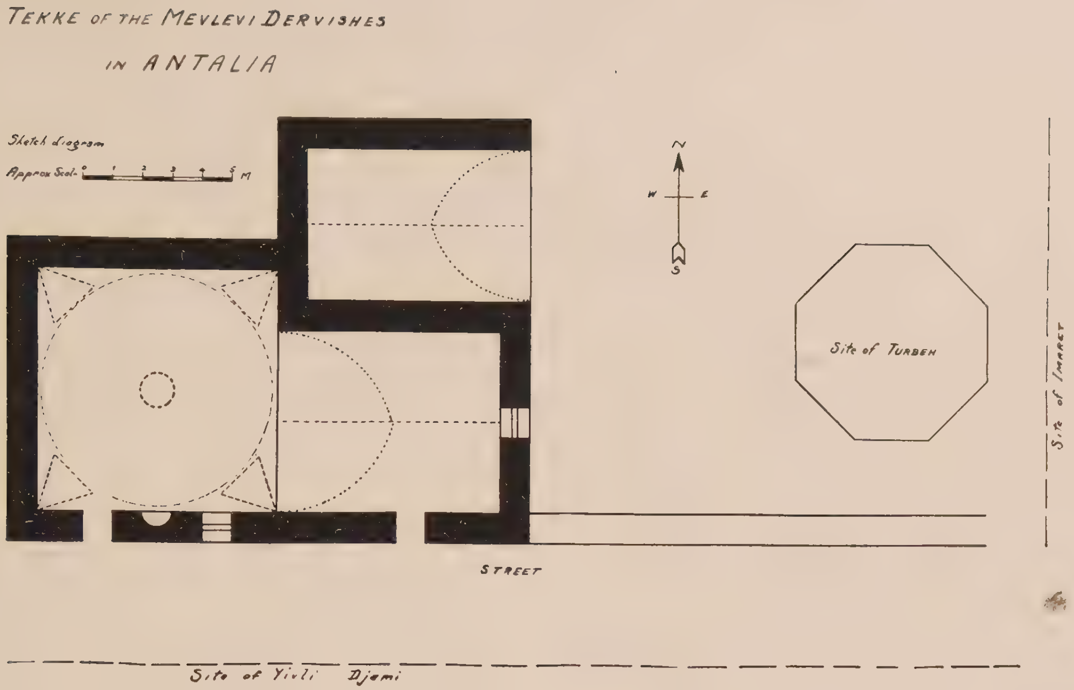
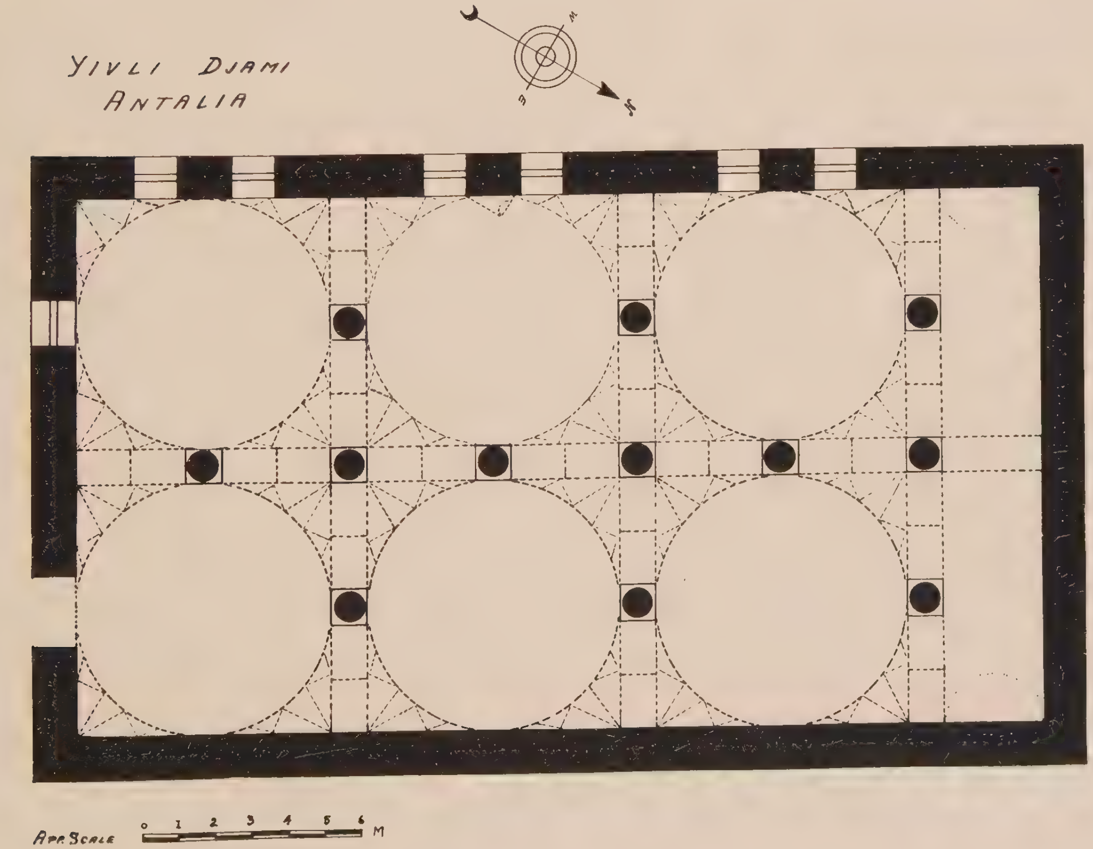
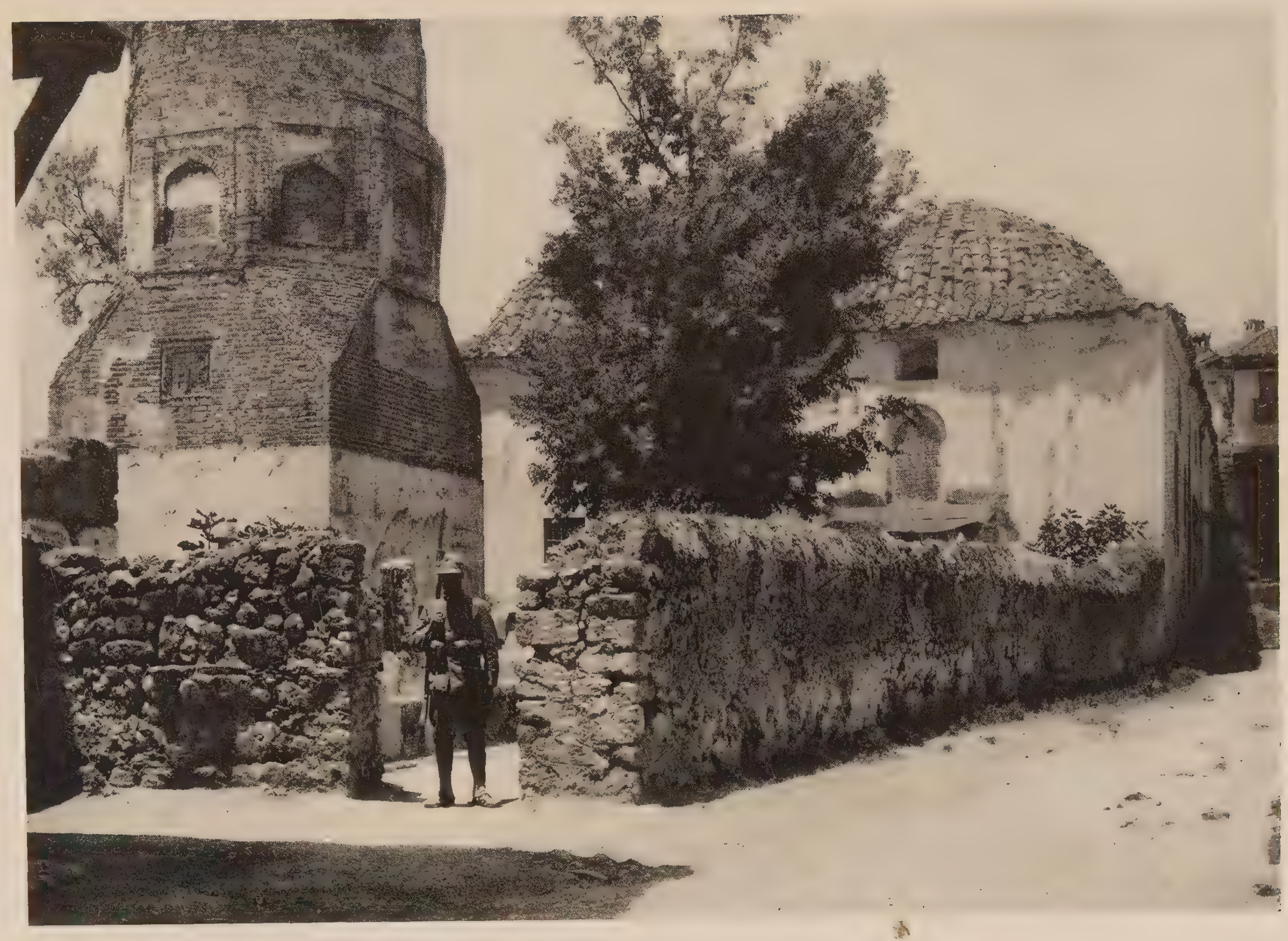
[1] See Mohammed Agha-Oglu, "Die Gestalt der alten Mohammedije in Konstantinopel," *Belvedere* (Vienna, 1926).


TEKKE OF THE MEVLEVI DERVISHES
IN ANTALIA
Sketch diagram
Approx Scale 0 1 2 3 4 5 M
N
W
E
S
Site of TURBEH
Site of IMARET
STREET
Site of Yivli Djami

86. Antalia, Tekke of the Mevlevi Dervishes (probably about 800 A.H. — 1400 A.D.): sketch diagram of plan


YIVLI DJAMI
ANTALIA
APP. SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 M

87. Antalia, Yivli Djami (reconstructed 774 A.H.; 1373 A.D.): sketch diagram of plan



88. Antalia: Yivli Minareh and Yivli Djami

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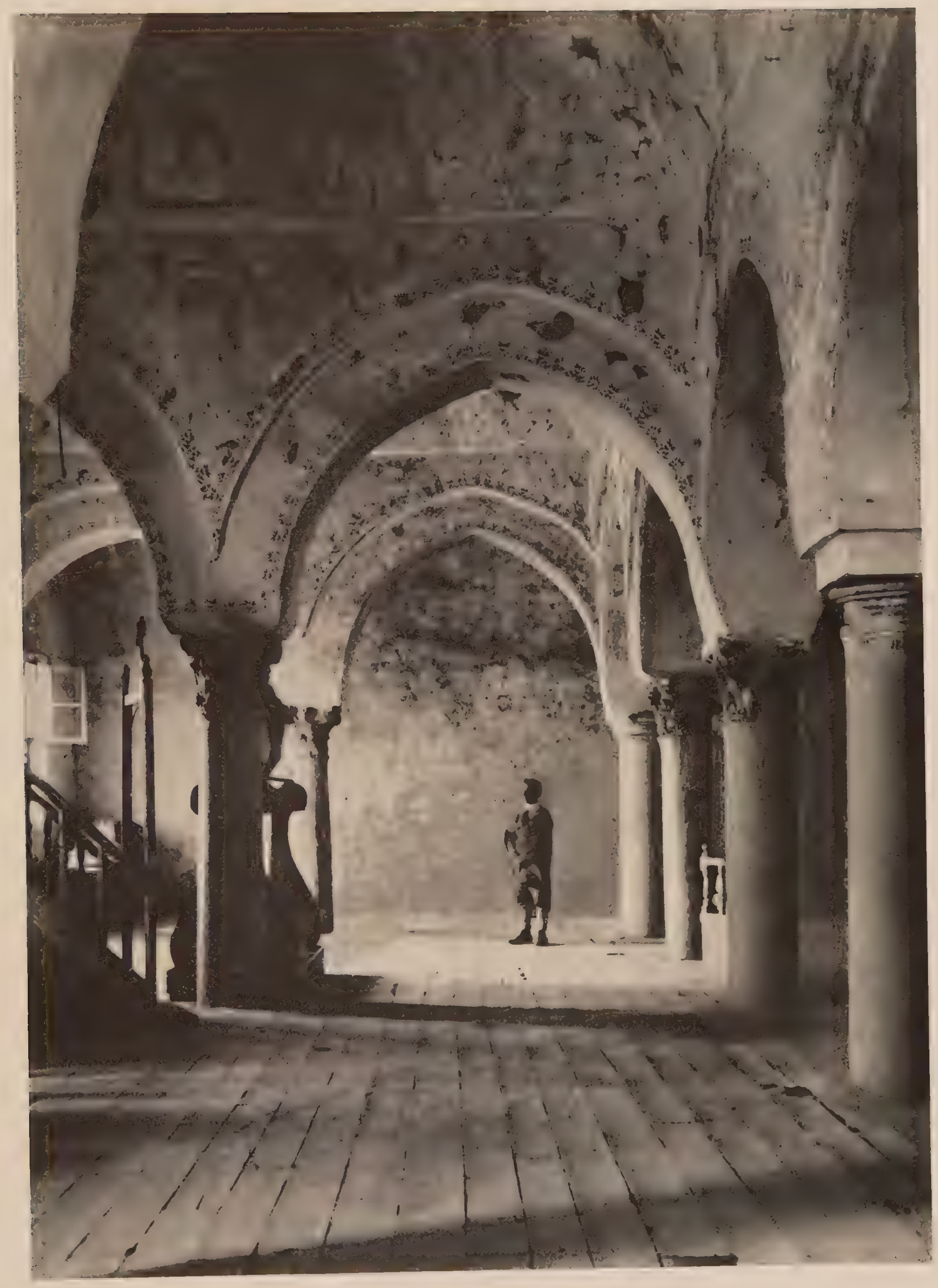

89. Antalia, Yivli Djami: interior

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Between this tekke and the "imaret" is a turbeh of octagonal plan covered by an eight-sided pyramid, a well-known Seljuk form. The name of this turbeh is Zindjir Qyran turbeh. It is dated in the inscription above the entrance 779 A.H. (1377/8 A.D.) (see inscription no. 3; Fig. 203 *a*, *b*). It contains the tomb of one Emir Sadeh Ali, son of Mubaris ed-Din Muhammad ibn Mahmud ibn Yunus. The turbeh is constructed of very well-cut blocks of white marble. The entrance is simple: its only decoration besides the inscription consists of two roundels with delicate arabesque decoration. Other roundels of equally fine carving are found above the windows. The tombs inside the turbeh are without any decoration or inscription. The inscriptions above the windows are religious.

Yivli Djami

Perhaps the most important building in this group is the Yivli Djami which, according to its inscription, was "constructed and renovated" in 774 A.H. after the city was reconquered from the Kings of Cyprus (1372/3 A.D.; inscription no. 5; Figs. 87–89, 205). The architect was a eunuch by the name of Balaban. As reigning prince is mentioned the same Mohammad ibn Mahmud ibn Yunus who is mentioned on the inscription of the turbeh.

Yivli Djami, the construction of which is today covered by a coat of plaster and whitewash, is of a rectangular plan which deviates about 30 degrees from the regular kibla orientation, and is that of a mosque of six coördinated domes, each semicircular and supported by Turkish triangles. These domes are supported by twin arcades. These arcades rest on classic columns, the majority of which are headed by very beautiful late classic capitals, which my eye, inexperienced in such matters, is inclined to attribute to the third century. Some of the capitals, however, are plain and circular, revealing themselves as the bases of classic columns. The capitals are surmounted by heavy imposts. At the west the building does not end with the arches supporting the two westernmost domes, but a barrel vault, about 11 feet wide, is here added to the construction, divided by a flat rib into two equal compartments — a very unusual feature.

The entire construction in its vaulting system bears all the earmarks of the end of the eighth century A.H. (fourteenth, Christian). Nevertheless we hear — as so often — the tradition that this building was originally a "kilisseh," a Byzantine church. To my knowledge there is no Byzantine church extant which is built on the principle of coördinated domes. The theory that a Byzantine building — such as Djami Kabir — was taken over by the Moslem, must therefore be rejected. But there are several curious features. First the kibla orientation is incorrect, the deviation being about the same as that of Djami Kabir. Second, the barrel vault on the east side in no way seems to be warranted in an Islamic building. There might therefore have been a Byzantine shell which was re-used for Islamic purposes, and this opinion is corroborated by the two westernmost windows on the "south" wall. These windows are covered by semicircular arches which are emphasized on the outside by voussoirs whose intrados and extrados are accented by thin mouldings. Such windows would be perfectly natural in late classic or early Byzantine architecture, which makes it plausible that the outer shell or four walls of the mosque, or at least the "south" wall, belong to a late classic or early Byzantine building. It would be quite natural that bases, columns, and capitals of this structure were re-used *in situ*, and therefore that columns, capitals, and bases represent the columns, capitals, and bases of the original building, which by its capitals would be assigned to the third century. In this case the building would probably have been a three-aisled structure. The barrel vault on the west side can hardly be explained as a remnant of the original structure. It would be more natural to assume that when the space within the four walls was subdivided into square vaulting units, a certain amount of surface was left over and this was disposed of by adding a barrel-vaulted section to the six domes.

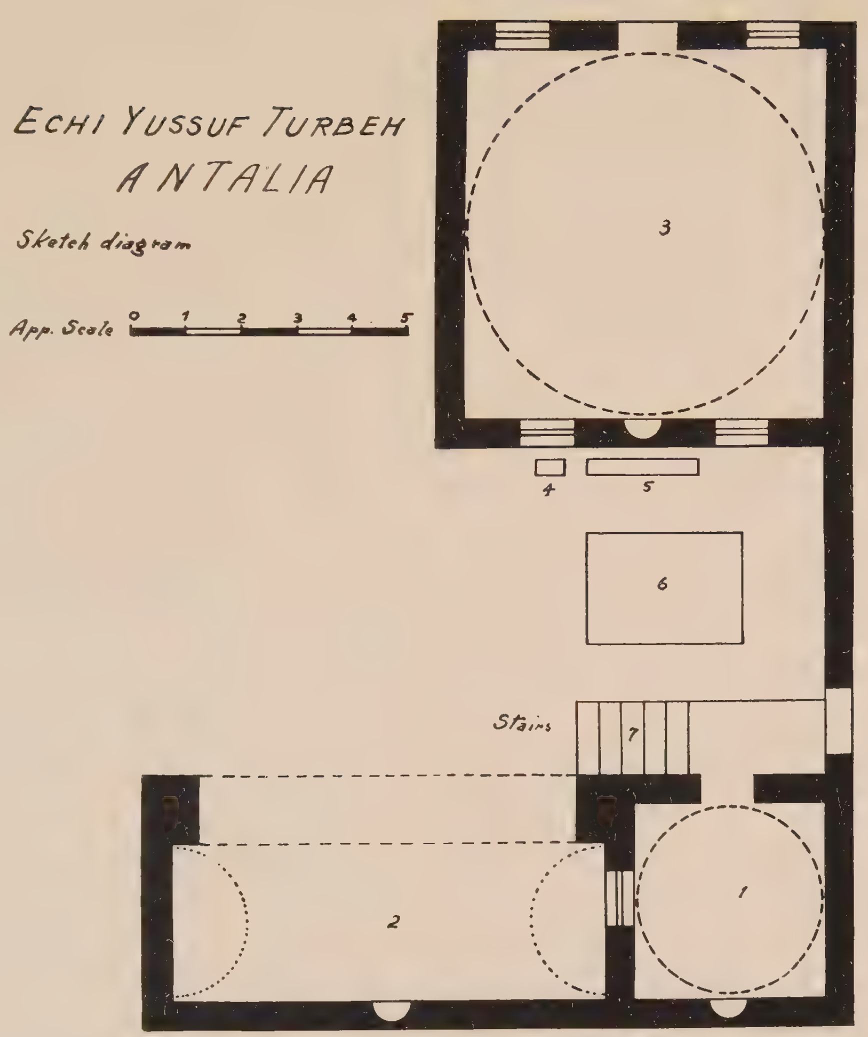
I have stated before that the Seljuk Yivli Djami, of which only the minareh is left, probably stood on the site of the present Yivli Djami. Whether the Seljuk Yivli Djami was simply the original structure converted into a mosque or whether there was a Seljuk mosque built into the four walls of the Byzantine structure, which was later replaced by the mosque of the eunuch Balaban, is impossible to decide today. A basilica, converted into a mosque, would probably have been given back to the Christian cult after the conquest by the Lusignan in 1361 A.D. In 1372/3 A.D. the building must have been reconditioned for the Islamic cult.

Yivli Djami is a valuable link in the series of western Anatolian congregational mosques, the list of which follows, and shows the interesting evolution from timbered to vaulted roofing:

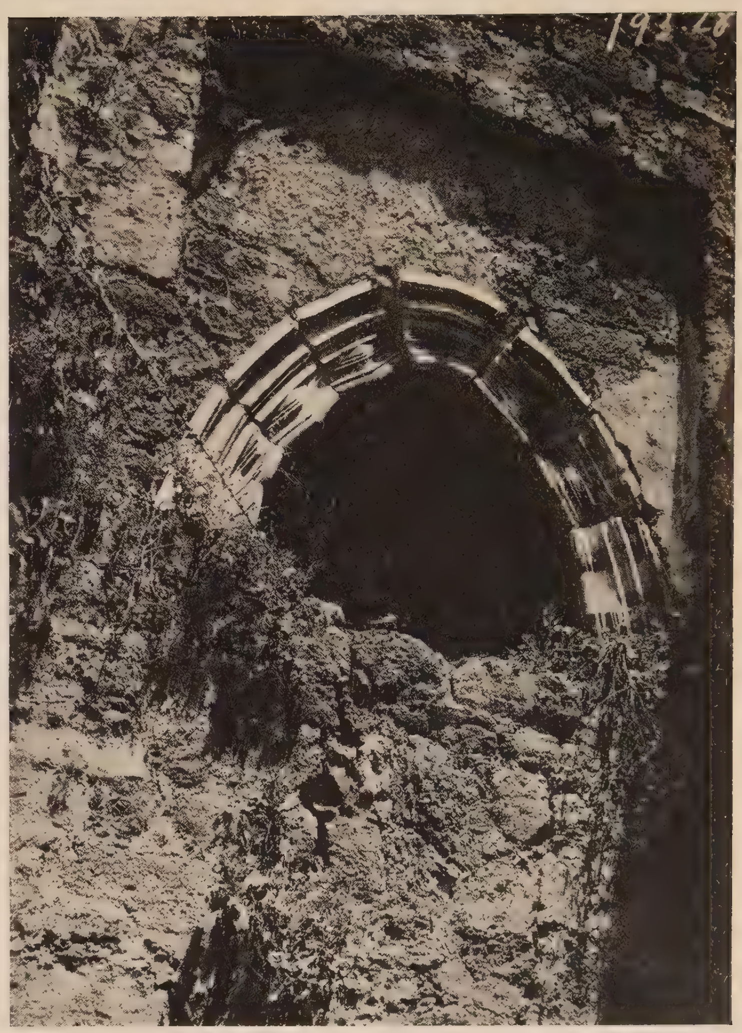
Birgeh, Ulu Djami, timber roof on arcades. 712 A.H.
Tireh, Ulu Djami, timber roof on arcades (?). About 750 A.H. (?).
Antalia, Yivli Djami, six coördinated domes. 774 A.H.
Seljuk, Isa Bey Djami, two domes in center, with timber roof right and left. 776 A.H.
Manissa, Ulu Djami, cross vaults. 780 A.H.
Brussa, Ulu Djami, coördinated domes. About 802 A.H.

Achi Yussuf Turbeh

An interesting ensemble of small structures is the Achi Yussuf turbeh (no. 11 on the plan gives the approximate location; Figs. 90, 91). This turbeh is situated on a street sloping down towards the north and is entered from


ECHI YUSSUF TURBEH
ANTALIA
Sketch diagram
App. Scale
0
1
2
3
4
5
3
4
5
6
Stairs
7
2
1

90. Antalia, Achi Yussuf turbeh (647 A.H.; 1249 A.D.): sketch diagram of plan



91. Antalia, Achi Yussuf turbeh: arch in tomb

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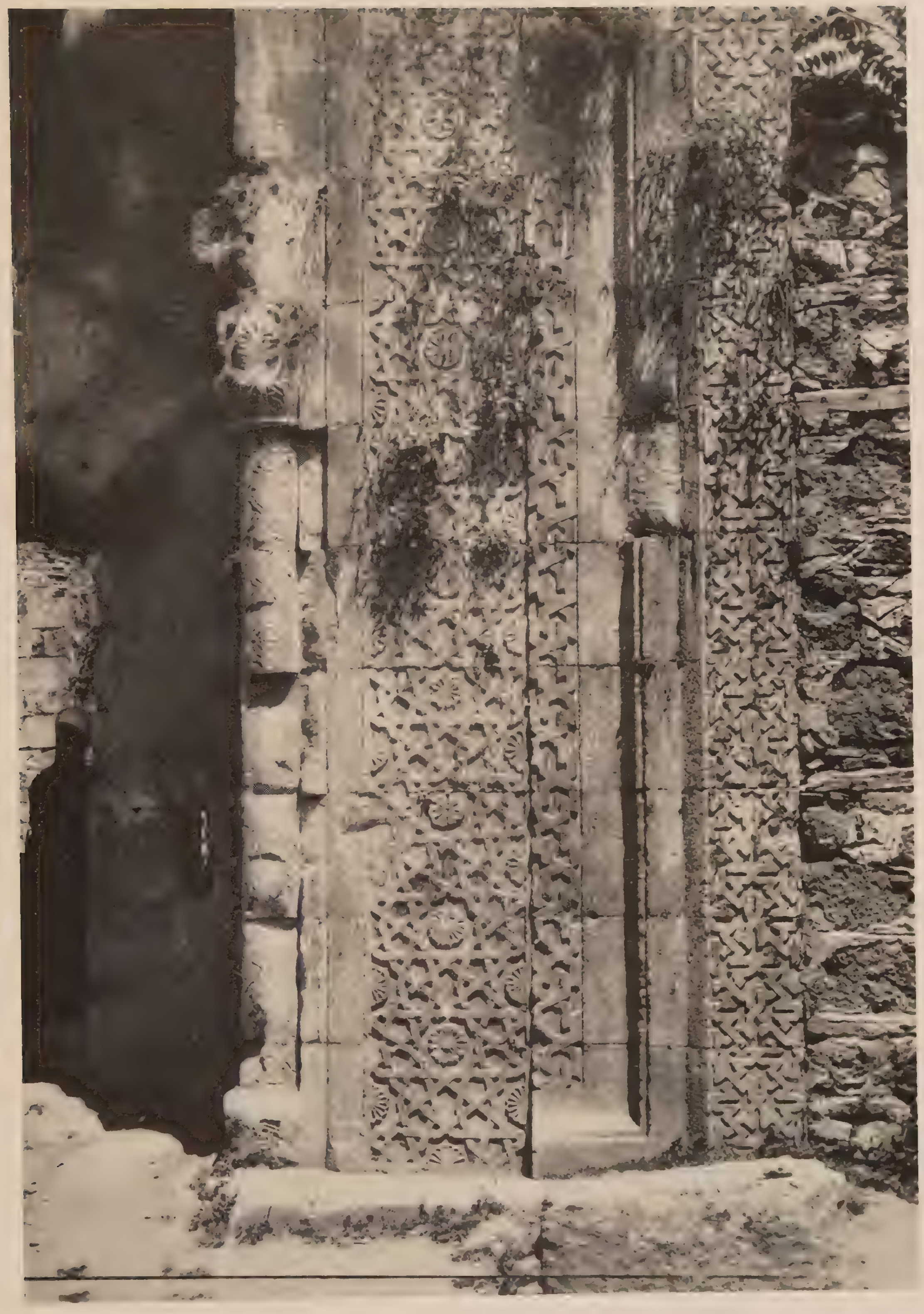

92. Antalia, Karatai Djami: detail of gateway (640 A.H.; 1250 A.D.)

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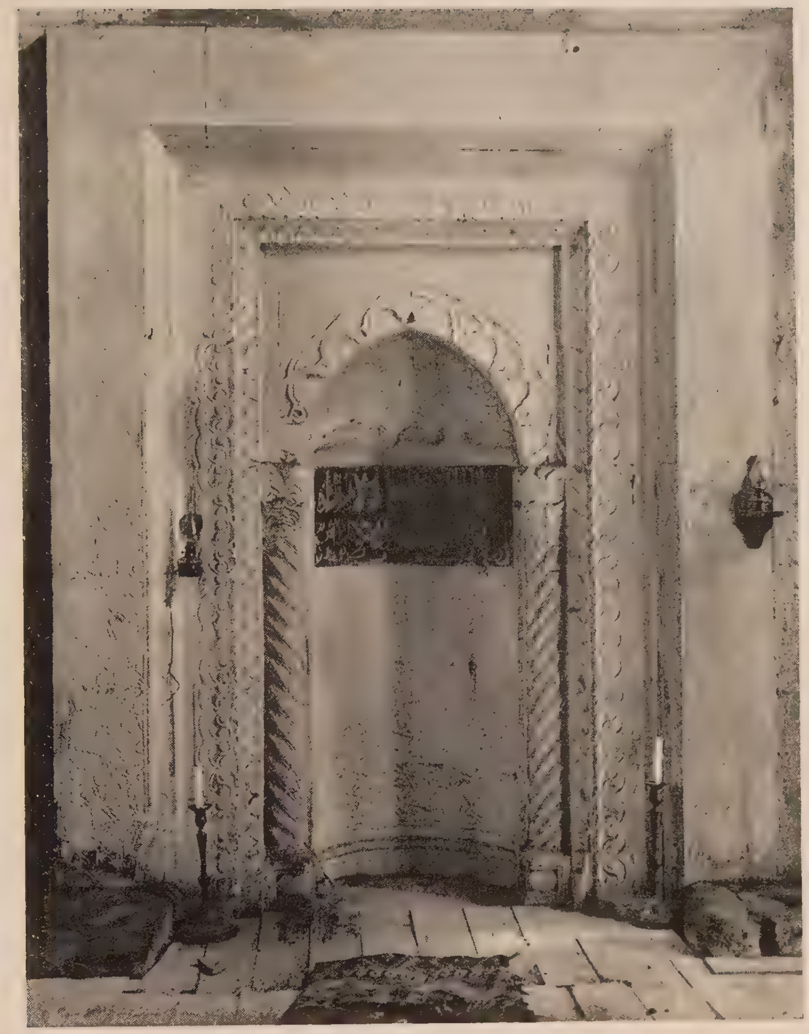
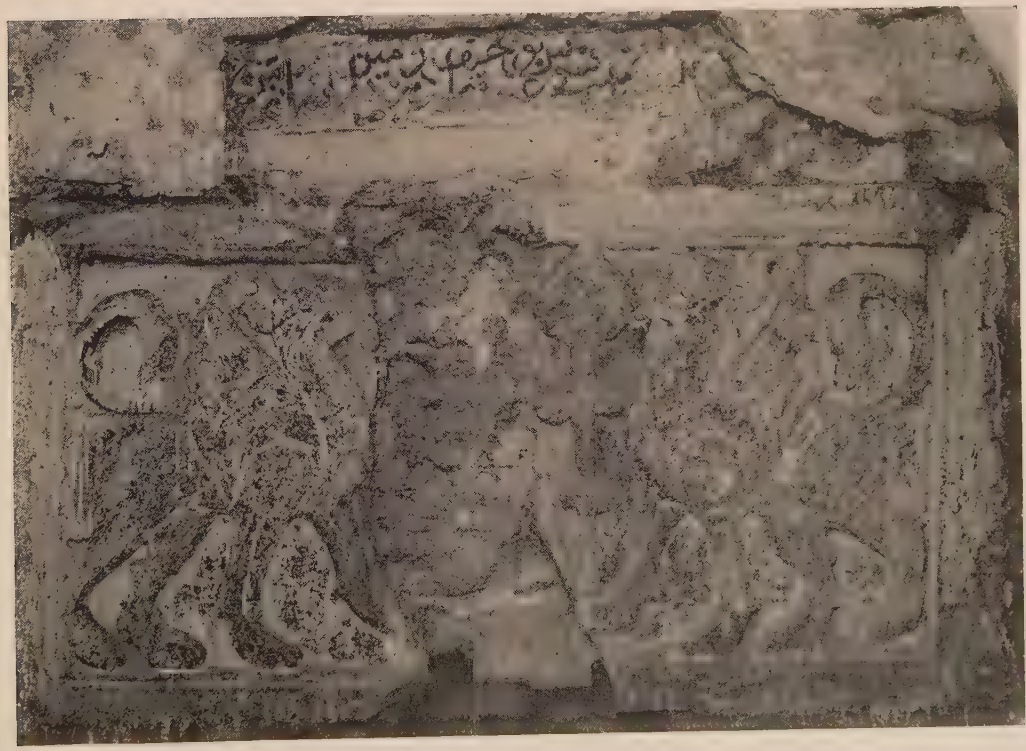


93. Antalia, Karatai Djami: mihrab



94. Antalia: Byzantine slab, used for fountain in Kaleh

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the street. A flight of steps leads to the lower level. South of the entrance is a small square building (1) the upper story of which contains a cenotaph and a prayer niche under a domed ceiling. The lower story is covered by a barrel vault running north-south. The body of Achi Yussuf rested probably in this lower part. The little chamber of the upper story opens towards the courtyard (west) by a curious window of a richly moulded chevron design (Fig. 91), which is set into a simple rectangular sunken panel. This type of arch recalls the zigzag mouldings of Romanesque archivolts, and I do not remember having seen it before in Seljuk architecture. A similar form occurs, however, in some monuments of Cyprus of a fairly late Gothic period.[1] It is possible that the motif goes back to a common source in Palestine.

West of this building is a mesdjid (2) probably for use in summer, which is entered by a broad brick-vaulted arch and was covered by a barrel vault, now destroyed, running parallel with the kibla wall. The large arch at the entrance may be of later date. In the little courtyard between the northern building (3) and the buildings just described is the stone (4) which contains the date 647 A.H. (1249/50 A.D.) (see inscription no. 1; Fig. 201). This stone is not a tombstone but records the establishment of the mesdjid; it is broken today, but the parts are almost entirely extant. Next to this stele is a tomb (5). In the center of the yard is a raised and walled rectangle which may also have been a tomb. The northern mesdjid (3) is of square plan, measuring about 6 by 6 to 6½ meters in diameter. It is covered by a dome and may be of later period.

Karatai Djami

Another curious Seljuk structure is the Karatai Djami which is situated near one of the enceintes of the kaleh.[2] This mosque was built in 648 A.H. (1250 A.D.), according to its inscription (see inscription no. 7). It is ascribed by its name, but not by the inscription, to the Grand Vizir Karatai. He was a great builder, who held office under Ala ed-Din Kaikobad I and his successors, and must have died between 651 and 652 A.H. (1253/4 A.D.).[3] Other works of the same builder are the Karatai Medresseh in Konia and the beautiful Karatai Han between Kaisarieh and Azizieh. The entrance into the Djami consists of a monumental gateway built in marble and decorated with very beautiful carving (Fig. 92; Lanckoroński, pl. XII). The workmanship of this gateway is of extraordinary fineness and precision, the joints between the diverse stones being exceedingly precise and thin. Two bands of interlacing frame a doorway which is supported by two columns with surface decoration on the shafts and with capitals of the double foliage type. The recessed niche of the gateway has seats within niches on the sides and is surmounted by well-worked stalactites. Through the door we enter into an open yard which leads to the mosque, which is built into a part of the fortifications. It consists of two gigantic arched compartments which seem to be the inside of a tower. The vaults run east-west, perpendicularly to the direction of the fortified wall of which they are a part. The northern compartment contains the mosque and is closed towards the yard by a late rubble wall with numerous wooden ties, which is set into the gigantic arch of a tower neatly built in brick and surmounted by battlements. The interior of the djami is bare, save for a mihrab (Fig. 93), which must date from the period of the foundation of the mosque. It excels in its simple carving. The semicircular arch forming the front of the niche, the ornaments and the very simple stalactites of the conch forming the niche are exceedingly restrained and recall, for instance, the decorations of Ala ed-Din Djami in Nigdeh. The second vault is identical with that of the djami and is today abandoned and filled with rubbish.

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[1] See Enlart, *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre* (Paris, 1899), vol. I, Figs. 258, 259, p. 390, non-identified church of the fifteenth century; pl. XVII, refectory of Lapais.

[2] No. 10 on the plan; Figs. 92, 93; see Lanckoroński, *loc. cit.*, vol. I, p. 28, Figs. 20, 21; pl. XII.

[3] See Halil Edhem Bey, "Einige islamische Denkmäler Kleinasiens," *Studien zur Geschichte des Ostens* (Vienna, 1923), p. 246.

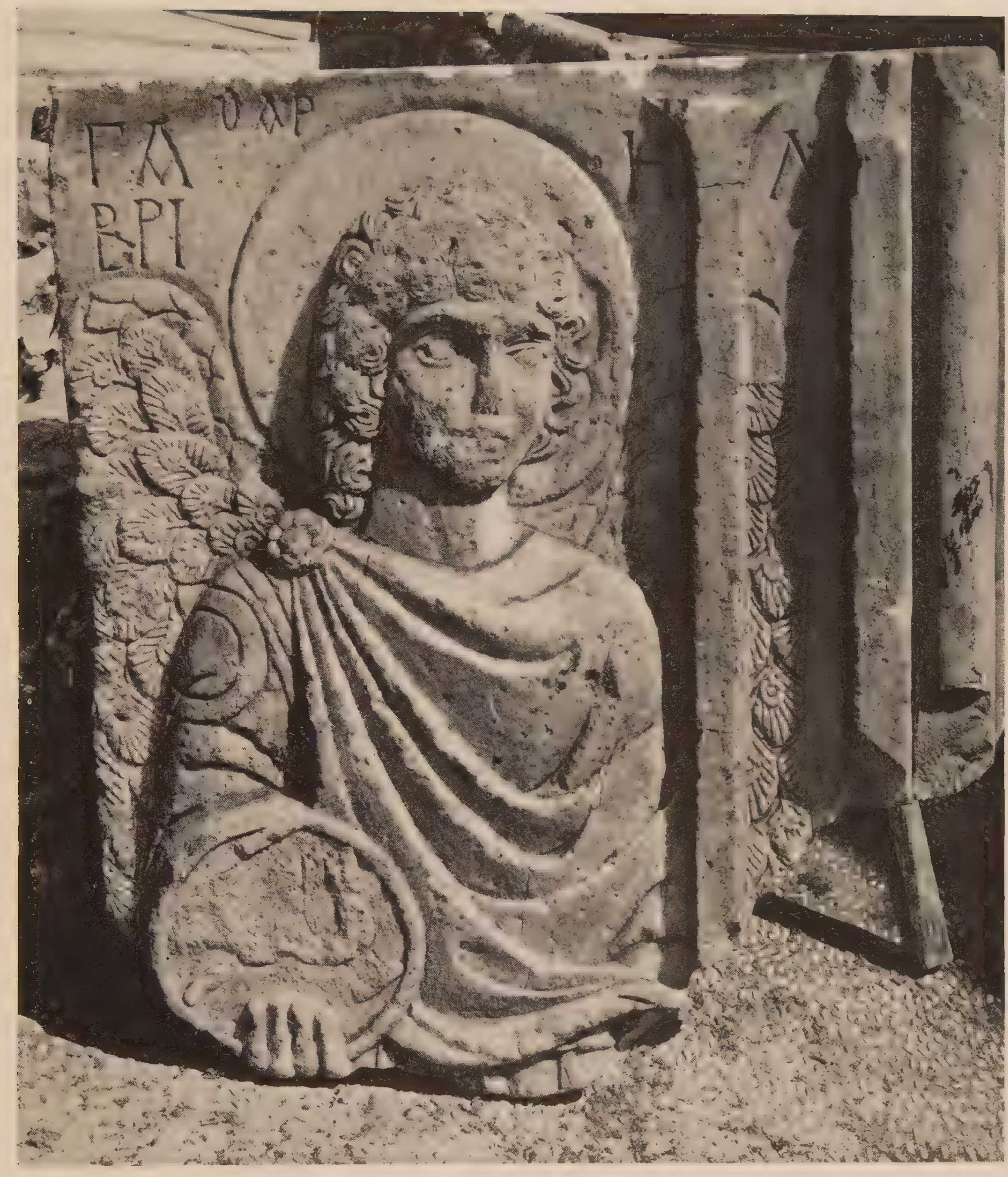
This very curious structure deserves more thorough study than I was able to give to it. The fortification seems to be of the Seljuk period, and it is rather curious to see an important tower of a fortress at such an early period transformed into a mosque. Further investigation may reveal traces of other structures in the courtyard which are not visible at the first glance.

Minor Buildings in Antalia

Not far from the Museum of Antalia is a fountain (Fig. 94) which is formed by the two halves of a Byzantine slab, probably of the eighth century, showing two winged gryphons of remarkably fine quality in heraldic grouping on either side of a central tree of life. Similar representations are not rare in Byzantine art. The Persian inscription above the relief is not of historic character.

This exhausts the list of buildings of the Seljuk period and of that of the Emirs in Antalia.

The buildings of the Ottoman period are not important. Mehmed Pasha Djami is picturesquely situated at the entrance of the old town (Fig. 79). Its plan is rather curious, following that of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha or of Ahmed Pasha in Stambul. A hexagon is set into a rectangle, and the four corners of the rectangle are filled by squinches, the hexagon being surmounted by a dome. North of this — opening into the mosque — is a row of three domes filling the entire width of the rectangle, giving the not unpleasant effect of a three-domed porch added to the interior of the mosque. The main entrances of the mosque are on the east and west walls. It contains some tile decorations, which are later repetitions of sixteenth-century designs. The mosque is undated.



95. Antalia, Museum: Byzantine relief; Archangel Gabriel
(probably of the 6th century A.D.)

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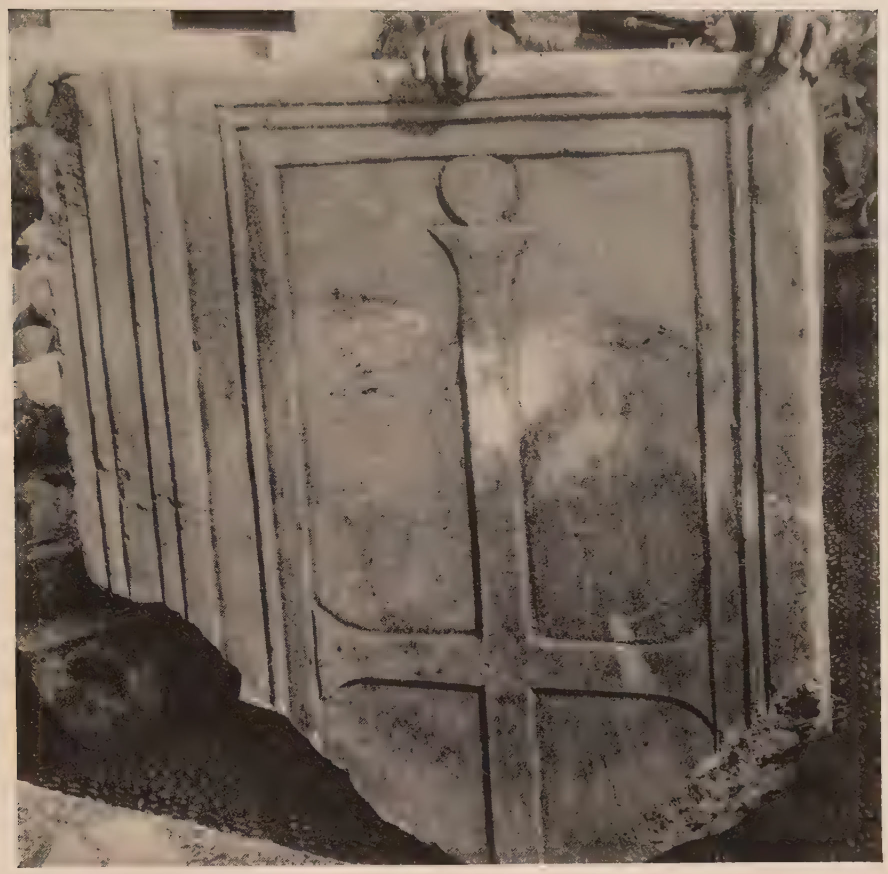
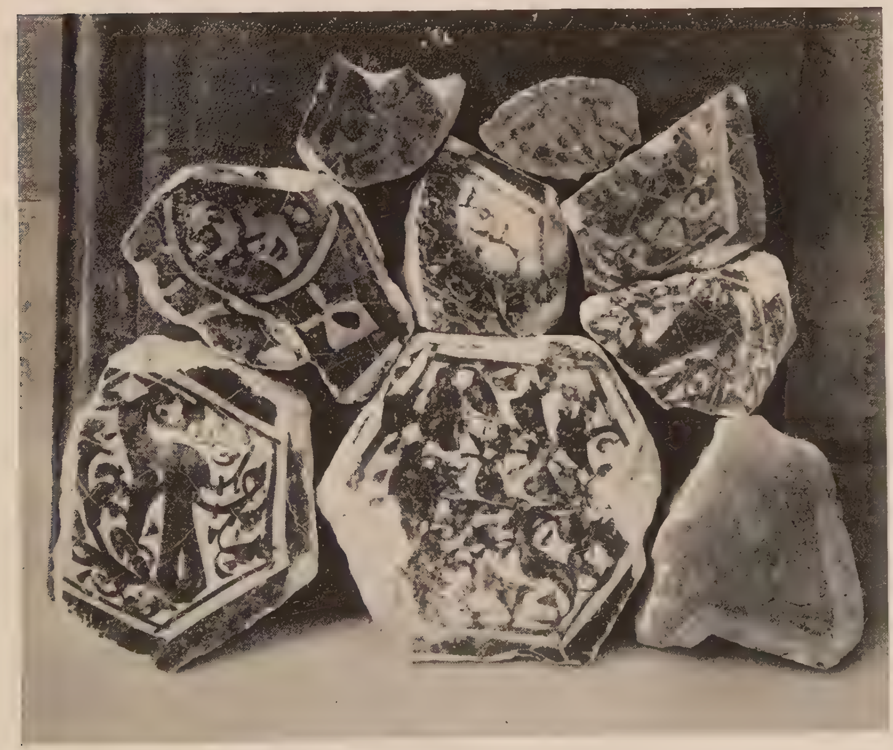


96. Antalia, Museum: cross on back of relief in Fig. 95



97. Antalia, Museum: group of luster ware tiles, probably Syrian (probably of the 7th — 8th century A.H.; 13th — 14th A.D.)

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Another mosque is the one founded by Tekkeli Oglu Hadji Mehmed Agha in 1211 A.H. (1796/7 A.D.). The cobalt-blue and white tiles on the inside and outside of the mosque are of this period.

In the vicinity of Antalia is the Omer Pasha Djami of Almalu, which is said to be quite important but which I was not able to visit.

The Museum of Antalia

The Museum of Antalia is now situated in a former Greek church dedicated to the Panhagia. A well-carved iconostasis is still extant and in the upper story is stored a large collection of ikons which — with one possible exception — is entirely void of interest. The Museum is in charge of Suleiman Fikri Bey, who wrote an excellent study on the monuments of Pamphylia and whose care saved the important ceramic remains studied below. I am most indebted to Suleiman Fikri Bey for his kind help and competent advice during my stay in Antalia and Alaya. The Museum contains a fine series of classic sculptures, some of which come from Aspendos. I noted particularly several larger than life-size figures and a funeral stele which seemed to rival in beauty good Attic work. In the yard of the Museum are several important historic inscriptions, one of the Seljuk period set into a well-carved frame which has been removed from the fortifications (inscription 2, Fig. 202). Another inscription is of great historic interest: it commemorates the conquest of Antalia by the "puissant roy Pierre par la grace de Dieu roy de Ierusalem et de Chypre." According to the inscription the conquest of Antalia by Pierre de Lusignan took place Tuesday, the 24th of August, 1361, on Saint Bartholomew's Day.[1]

The Museum of Antalia owns also a Byzantine relief representing the archangel Gabriel, which I have already published.[2] This relief measures 102 centimeters in height by 92 centimeters in width (Figs. 95, 96). The base is missing. The former height of the relief, however, is determined by a cross, carved upside down on the back of the marble slab. The inscription to right and left of the head reads: "O Ar(changelos) Gabriel."

This fine work has striking beauty. I think it is not too daring to ascribe it to the sixth century A.D. Such a chronological attribution must, however, remain more or less hypothetical on account of our very scant knowledge of Byzantine sculpture. The fact that the cross on the back is upside down might be explained with not too great difficulty. I think that during the iconoclastic period the representation of the archangel became useless and that during this period the slab was re-used by carving on its back the cross, the foot of which is clearly indicated by the disc on which the cross stands.

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[1] Published by Fikri Bey, *Antalia livasy tarikhi* (Stambul, 1919–22), in Turkish, p. 62.

[2] See *Dedalo* (October, 1929), pp. 267–272.

Among my reasons for ascribing this piece to the sixth century, I would particularly like to mention the disc on the right shoulder of the angel, which is evidently one of those circular textile ornaments so frequent in the so-called Coptic tunics discovered in Egypt. They are also often found on representations of personages in mosaics and frescoes of the same period, but I have not been able to find this motif after the eleventh century A.D.

The Museum of Antalia contains also a very interesting series of tiles and fragments of tiles which have been discovered in a garden within the city. These tiles show very curious animal representations: hares, other quadrupeds, swans, falcons, and peacocks, while among the floral designs we observe gracefully swinging designs of floral branches and one shrub design with birds, motives recalling Syro-Egyptian pottery.

The techniques observed are:

1. blue and black underglaze decoration on white ground (Fig. 98).
2. luster decoration (Fig. 97):
    - (*a*) purple luster on turquoise ground.
    - (*b*) purple luster on cobalt ground.
    - (*c*) olive green luster on manganese purple ground.
    - (*d*) olive luster on ground partly turquoise, partly manganese purple.
3. black decoration under turquoise greenish glaze.
4. luster and cobalt-blue on white ground.

The combination of luster with colored background would be rather unusual in Persian or Turkish Seljuk pottery. On the other hand, it is frequently observed in Syro-Egyptian pottery. One tile with a symmetrical shrub design has almost the same composition as a pottery plate formerly in the Claudius Côte collection in Lyons.[1] Blue and black underglaze decoration is found frequently in Persian wheel-turned pottery. I do not know any specimen of Persian tiles made in this technique, but I found in Shifaiyah Medresseh in Sivas (614–617 A.H. [1217–1221 A.D.]) one tomb with a revetment of tiles of this sort. However, being unable to approach the tiles, which were visible only from the outside of the sealed turbeh, I could not examine them in detail. The only other tile of this type is above the mihrab in the tekke of Sadr ed-Din Konievi in Konia.

Luster and cobalt-blue on white ground form, of course, a very common technique in Persian tiles. It occurs also, though rarely, in Asia Minor.[2] In Turhal a school-teacher showed me one of the well-known Persian octagonal star tiles with decoration in luster and cobalt-blue. To my great surprise I heard that this specimen had been found in the ground in the vicinity of Tur-

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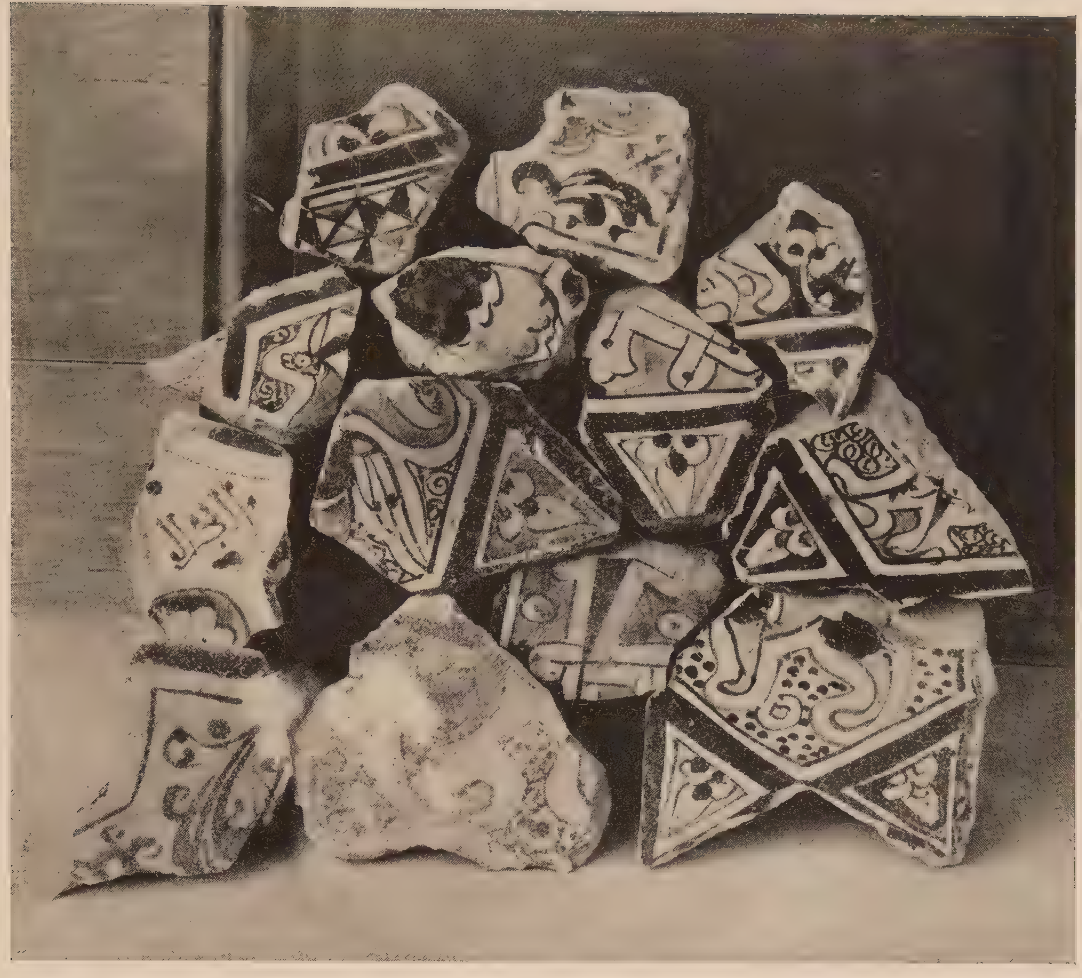
[1] *Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst in München*, 1910 (Munich, 1912) vol. II, pl. 92, cat. no. 1110.

[2] Specimens of luster technique reproduced in Sarre, *Seldschuckische Kleinkunst*, pl. XXI, Figs. 6 and 7, the latter considered by Sarre as possibly Syrian.



98. Antalia, Museum: tiles in black and blue underglaze decoration, probably Syrian (probably 7th — 8th century A.H.; 13th — 14th century A.D.)

99. Peninsula of Alaya: seen from the sea

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hal. There is absolutely no reason for doubting this statement, which corroborates the occurrence of this technique in Asia Minor.

The technique of these tiles is, of course, very important in determining their origin. They are made of a whitish sandy paste, so brittle that it can be broken up under the pressure of the fingers. This is very different from the firm structure of Persian and Anatolian potteries, generally made of red clay, and is almost identical with the friable sandy paste of Syrian wares of the so-called Raqqa type of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries A. D. I am therefore inclined to consider the whole series as of Syrian importation. In order to make a decisive statement about the Syrian origin of these tiles we should have a better survey of potteries and tiles found in Syria than we possess at present.[1] The Museum of Antalia owns this very important series, thanks to the vigilance of Fikri Bey, director of the Museum. It would be most desirable that further excavations on the spot of the discovery of these tiles should be made, since they are a further link in the chain of evidence showing that Seljuk art is not merely descendent from Persian, but that the current of Syrian influences has been much underestimated. The south coast of Anatolia — as today — entertained a lively shipping business with the ports of the Syrian coast. The Taurus is and was abundant in lumber, which is in demand in Syria and Egypt. Sailing along the coast, one sees quite a number of sailing vessels — many from Alexandretta — which are loading lumber. That was probably true even seven hundred years ago, and it would be natural that these ships brought all sorts of Syrian merchandise as return freight to Anatolia.

VI. ALAYA

The city of Alaya is situated about 90 kilometers east from Antalia.[2] The land route is in bad shape; bridges are partly missing. It is hoped that the road will be practicable for automobile traffic in one or two years.

In Antalia I hired the nine-ton schooner Zinet Derya, which under the able leadership of Mutevelli Kapudan brought us to Alaya in 36 hours. We sailed near midnight and passed the next morning in front of the classic ruins of Side. As the wind was rather weak, we reached the latitude of Sharafseh Han — easily conspicuous from the sea — the next morning about 6 A.M. and landed at Alaya about 11 A.M.

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[1] See F. Sarre, "Keramik und andere Kleinfunde der islamischen Zeit von Baalbek," reprint of vol. III of *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen . . . von Baalbek*, 1898–1905 (de Gruyter, Berlin and Leipzig, 1925). See also Watzinger–Wulzinger, *Damascus* (de Gruyter, Berlin and Leipzig, 1924), vol. II, p. 93, pls. 27–29. The former gives a clear classification of the Islamic potteries found in Damascus mainly from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. The latter, unfortunately very badly illustrated, gives an account of fifteenth- to sixteenth-century tiles in the mosques of Damascus. Migeon, *Manuel d'art Musulman; arts industriels*, 2nd edition, II, 215, mentions the excavations of kilns in the vicinity of Damascus. A record of these excavations would be most desirable.

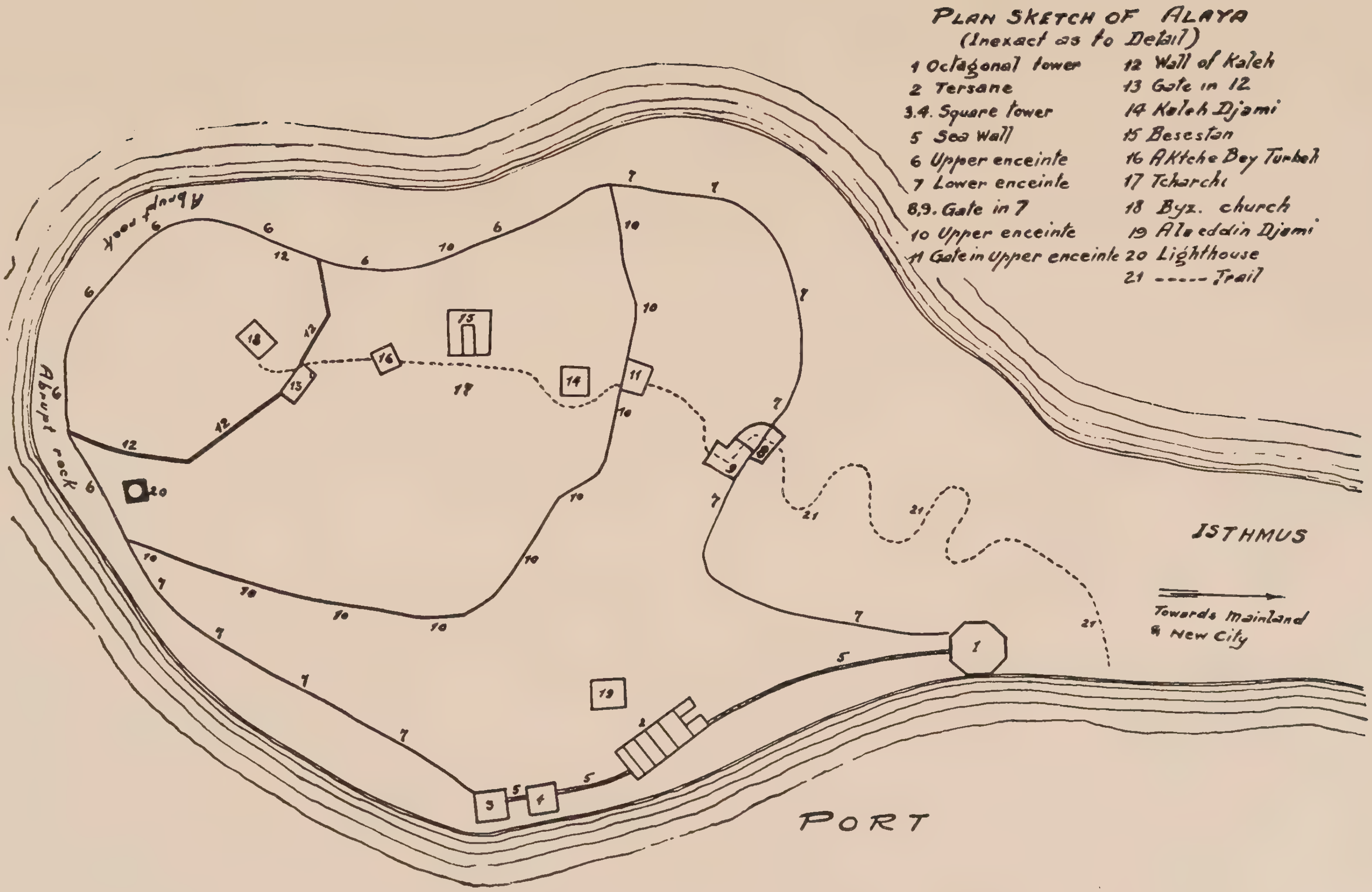
[2] See the notes in Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, pp. 70, 79, 80.

Alaya has been very justly compared with the rock of Gibraltar to which from afar its silhouette offers a strange resemblance. Alaya is the classic Coracesium, a stronghold of the Cilician pirates, but it gained special importance after the occupation by the Seljuks which took place probably in 617 A.H. Ala ed-Din Kaikobad chose it as the Seljuk naval basis in the Ak Denis, the "white sea" (Fig. 99; sketch plan, Fig. 100).

It lies on a promontory of almond shape, connected with the mainland by an isthmus. The west side and the south point of the island consist of abrupt rocks and are therefore protected only by a light wall (no. 6 on the sketch plan). The old city clusters around the eastern slope of the peninsula; the isthmus leads towards the site of the modern city on the mainland. East and northeast of the peninsula stretches a beautiful bay which in beauty rivals that of Monte Carlo. It can harbor vessels of fairly deep draught. While Alaya is an excellent naval base, it cannot have value as an outlet of commerce because its connections with the hinterland are rather poor. The roads to Antalia and to Selefke, both following the shore, are interrupted by a considerable number of streams carrying the water from the Taurus mountains to the sea. Alaya seems to have been connected by a direct land route with Konia, but this road too seems to be rather difficult. The city therefore never amounted to much as a commercial port, and its prosperity rises and falls with its military importance; today it is in a dormant state.

The view of the city with its Seljuk fortifications and houses built on terraces is of indescribable beauty. But a visit to the old town reveals that at least half of the houses are abandoned. The modern small town develops rather on the isthmus and the adjacent mainland.

The top of the peninsula was fortified already in the classic period, as shown by the lower part of the second Seljuk enceinte. At present the kaleh is protected by three enceintes which are very summarily indicated on the sketch plan without any pretense to correctness in detail. The first and outermost enceinte consists of a wall descending from the Kaleh towards the southern end of the sea wall (no. 7 of the plan). Then follows the sea wall (no. 5 of the plan), beginning with two strong towers (nos. 3, 4 of the plan) and leading by the Tersane or Seljuk Arsenal (no. 2 of the plan) to a sea gate. The sea wall terminates at the Seljuk "Kyzil Kuleh," or red tower (no. 1 of the plan), while the land wall rises gradually up the slope of the hill (no. 7 of the plan). One enters at a considerable altitude by a strongly fortified double gate (nos. 8, 9 of the plan) which finally joins the northern end of the top wall (no. 7 joining no. 6). The second enceinte starts from the lower eastern end of the upper enceinte (no. 10 of the plan), is entered by a fortified gate (no. 11 of the plan), and at the westernmost point joins the walls 7 and 10. The third enceinte (no. 12 of the plan) forms with the top enceinte (no. 6) the more or


PLAN SKETCH OF ALAYA
(Inexact as to Detail)
1 Octagonal tower
2 Tersane
3.4. Square tower
5 Sea Wall
6 Upper enceinte
7 Lower enceinte
8,9. Gate in 7
10 Upper enceinte
11 Gate in upper enceinte
12 Wall of Kaleh
13 Gate in 12
14 Kaleh Djami
15 Besestan
16 Aktche Bey Turbeh
17 Tcharchi
18 Byz. church
19 Ala eddin Djami
20 Lighthouse
21 ----- Trail
Abrupt rock
Abrupt rock
ISTHMUS
Towards mainland & New City
PORT

100. Alaya: sketch plan of town

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less circular Kaleh on the top of the peninsula. This third enceinte is entered by a beautiful Seljuk gate (no. 13 of the plan). The space between the first and second enceinte is covered by houses on the east slope of the rock, but the western part between the gates 9 and 11 is empty and barren today. If there ever were houses they cannot have been important.

The main Seljuk and Ottoman city was located between the second and third enceinte. A mosque, the market, a han, and the turbeh of Aqshebeh Sultan are situated in this space.

The kaleh between the third enceinte (no. 12) and the upper enceinte (no. 6) seems always to have been reserved for military purposes. Within the space of the kaleh, however, is the Byzantine church (no. 18 of the plan).

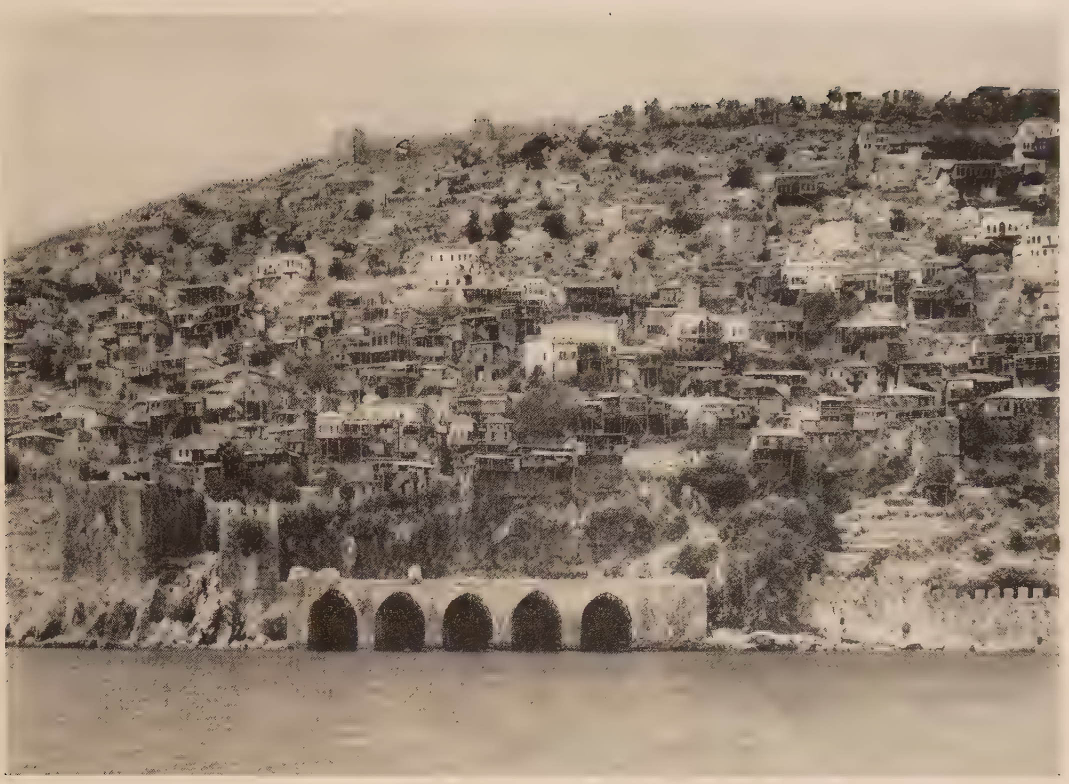
Here and there on the Seljuk walls one sees Seljuk inscriptions in considerable numbers which I did not have the time to study. The method of their distribution recalls the many inscriptions found in the walls of Antalia.

I will describe first the visit to the monuments on the upper part of the hill, which I reached by the trail starting from the municipality (no. 21 of the plan). Second, I will describe the monuments in the vicinity of the sea wall.

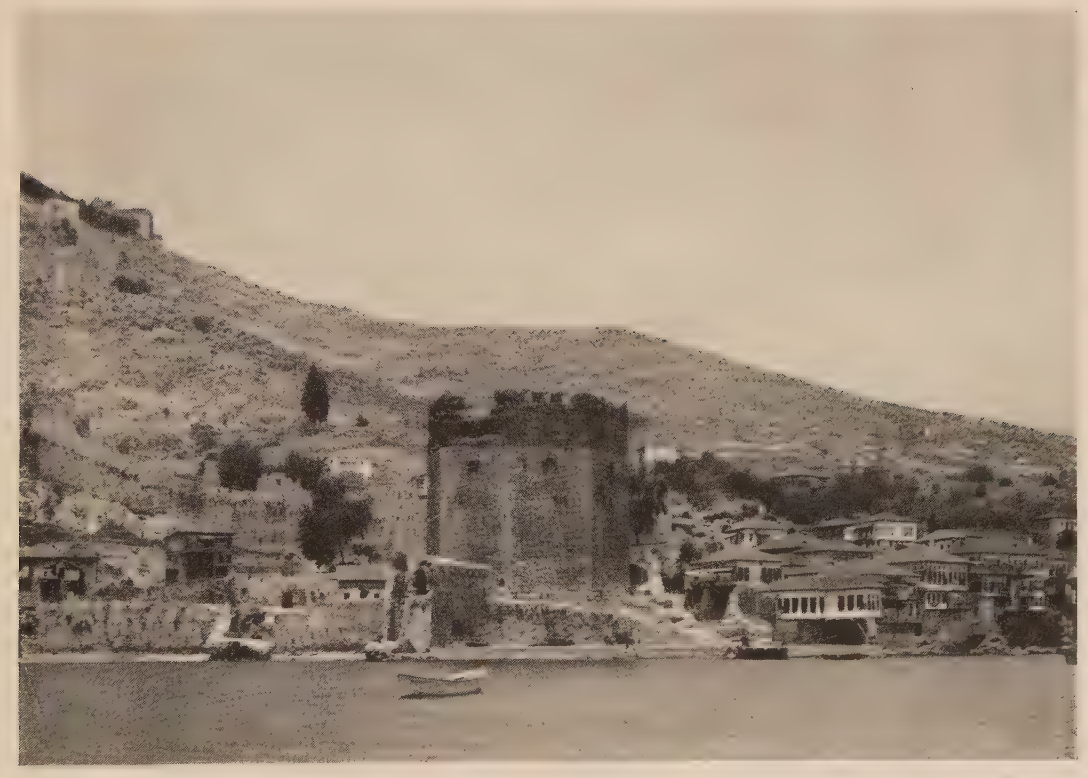
The trail leaves the municipality at the northern end of the peninsula and rises rather quickly toward the gate (nos. 8, 9) of the first enceinte. Above the entrance the first gate has an inscription of Ala ed-Din Kaikobad I (inscription no. 9; Fig. 209 *a*, *b*) with the date 628 A.H. (1230/1 A.D.). Through this gate one enters a small open space of more or less rectangular shape. At a right angle to the first gate is the entrance to the inner gate which is surmounted by a second inscription (inscription no. 10; Fig. 210) of Ala ed-Din Kaikobad I, without a date. Below this inscription is a fragment of a late classic decorative sculpture showing two compartments, the first compartment with a floral, acanthus-like shrub motif, the second with a rosette flower attached to a leaf motif. Above the inscription is a second classic fragment with two female heads between suspended garlands. This fragment is crowned by a Corinthian capital, seemingly of a fairly late period, set into the wall. This gate is constructed so as to have the exit standing at a right angle to the entrance, a well-known device. Above the exit (on the inside of the wall) is again a small inscription in Neskhi characters (inscription no. 11; Fig. 211), which resisted all attempts at deciphering, but Dr. Wittek succeeded in reading the date 623 A.H. (1226 A.D.). This date proves that the inner gate was constructed five years before the outer gate. To the left of the gate is a large cistern. The road then winds up (Fig. 103) through empty land to a second gate (no. 11 of the plan), which leads through a wall that is of classic construction, clearly shown by its large rusticated rectangular blocks of stone. The gate, however, which has no inscription, seems to be of the Ottoman period. Once inside this gate, one sees to the left a low vaulted bastion, also apparently Ottoman, offering a beautiful view over the bay. After a few steps one reaches the Kaleh Djami, to which the Alayans assign a very early origin. Without doubt, however, it is a not very refined structure of the Ottoman period. A porch with three domes leads into the sanctuary which consists of a square plan surmounted by a dome below which a curious heavy stalactite cornice may be noted. The diameter of the square is 18 steps. There is no inscription in this mosque, except a stone slab in the interior with a Koranic text in Neskhi characters. A stucco frieze surrounds the entrance on the outside, similar to that around the outside mihrabs of Valideh Djami in Manissa. In the interior there are a few carved remnants of a minbar and a dikkeh, probably Seljuk, as well as a fairly good Koran of large size in Neskhi characters. There are no rugs of interest. In the construction of this mosque bricks have been used which are not of the usual Near Eastern type (almost square and flat), but of the Western type, an oblong brick of rather considerable thickness. Later we shall observe this same type of brick in other buildings in Alaya, and it occurs, but smaller, in the Seljuk turbeh Ali bin Tusi in Tokat.

From the mosque the path winds upward to a site filled with fig trees which was once the center of a busy town; here and there between the gardens one notices the rows of vaulted booths which must once have comprised the bazar. Looking for a besestan, we found a large building with an open courtyard surrounded by chambers with doors surmounted by shouldered arches (sketch plan, Fig. 104). The rear of this building contains a large hall, with five aisles running roughly east-west and supported by four double arches which rest on heavy square piers. These vaults are not, as indicated on my sketch plan, plain barrel vaults, but offer a more elaborate type of vaulting. First I thought this building to be a combination of tcharchi and besestan, but on closer examination it seems more probable that it was a han with a large vaulted hall in the rear used as stables, and an open courtyard with travelers' chambers in front. This construction is, of course, Ottoman and dates perhaps as late as the eleventh century A. H. (seventeenth Christian). Slightly south of this ensemble lies the Aqshebeh Sultan turbeh, an inconspicuous building containing a mesdjid and several tombs. On the west wall of this building, at least part of which I believe to be of the Ottoman period, is a very fine Seljuk inscription, indicating that this is the turbeh of Aqshebeh and that it was erected in 628 A.H. (1230/1 A.D.) (inscription no. 14; Fig. 212 *a* and *b*) under Sultan Ala ed-Din Kaikobad I. Above this inscription is another Koranic inscription in Neskhi characters, which cannot compare in beauty with the elegant swing of the Seljuk writing. This building is again constructed in the same unusual brick observed before in the Kaleh Djami.

From Aqshebeh Sultan turbeh the path winds up to the gate of the third



101. Alaya: view of the old town, with Seljuk Tersane on shore and Kaleh above



102. Alaya: Kyzil Kuleh or "red tower" (623 A.H.; 1226 A.D.)

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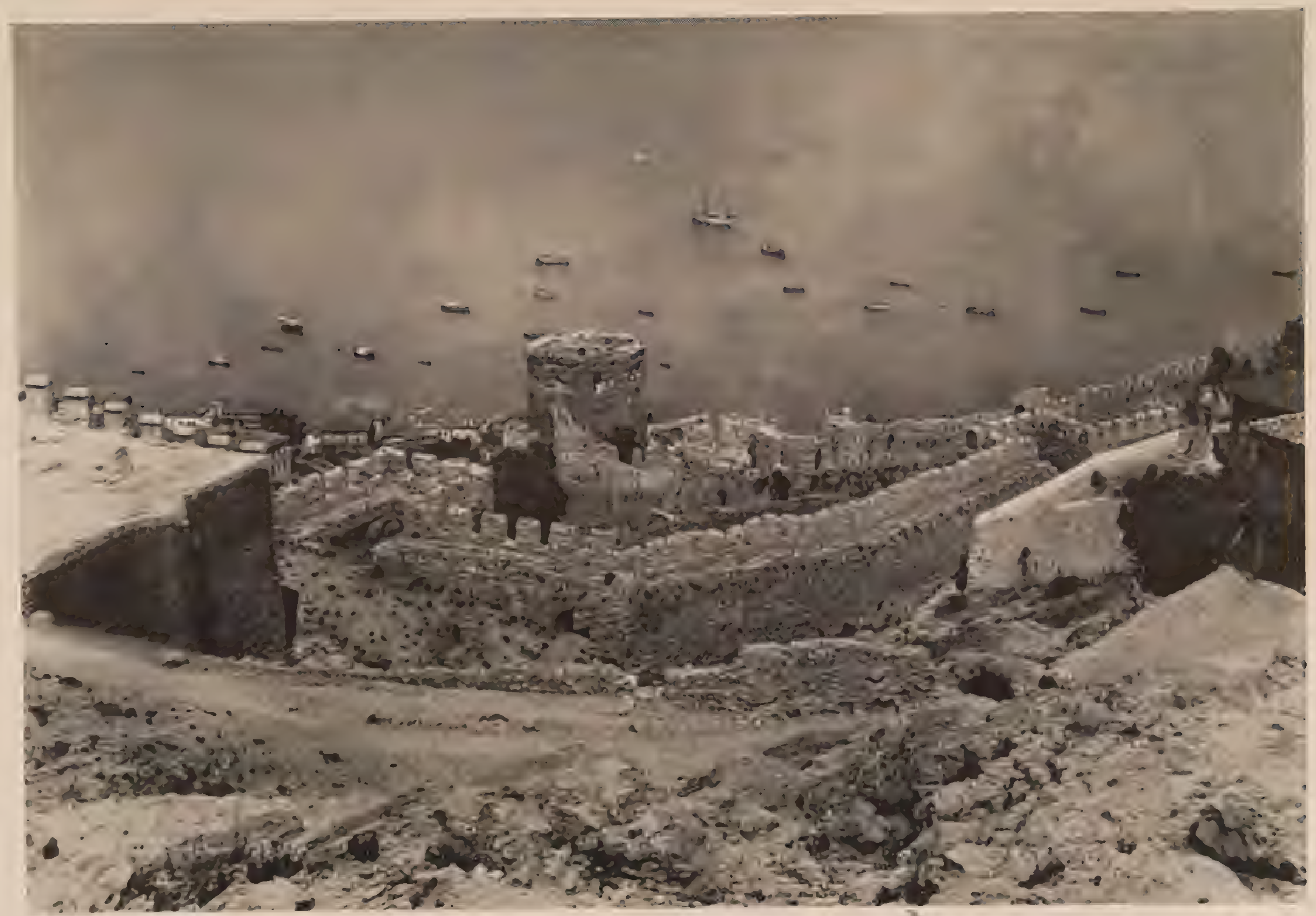

103. Alaya: Kyzil Kuleh and Seljuk port seen from Kaleh

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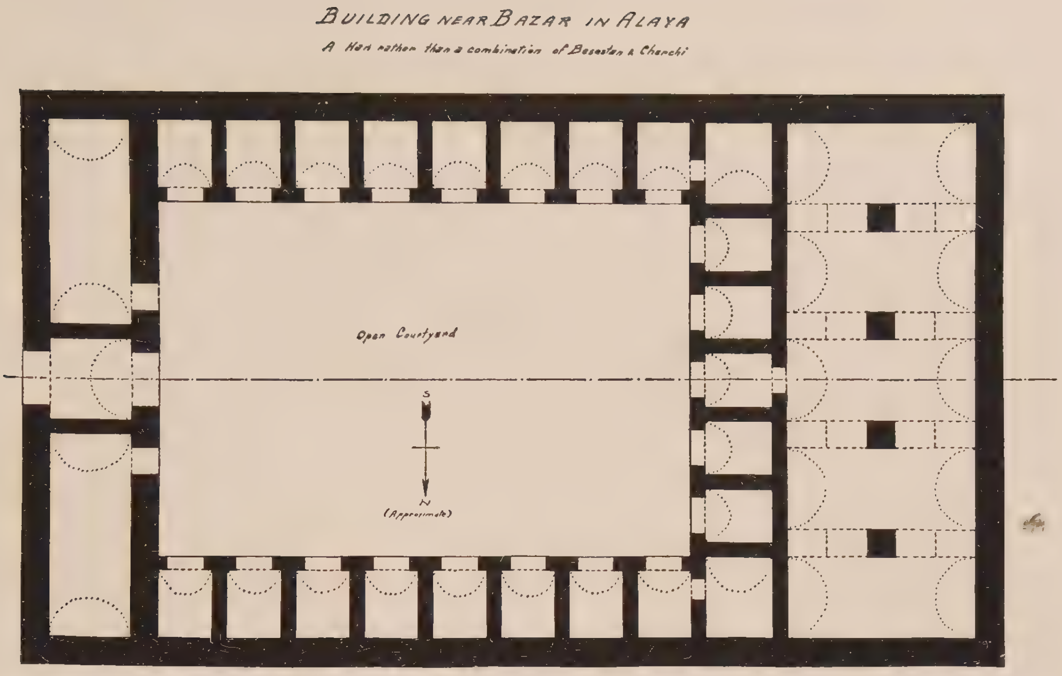
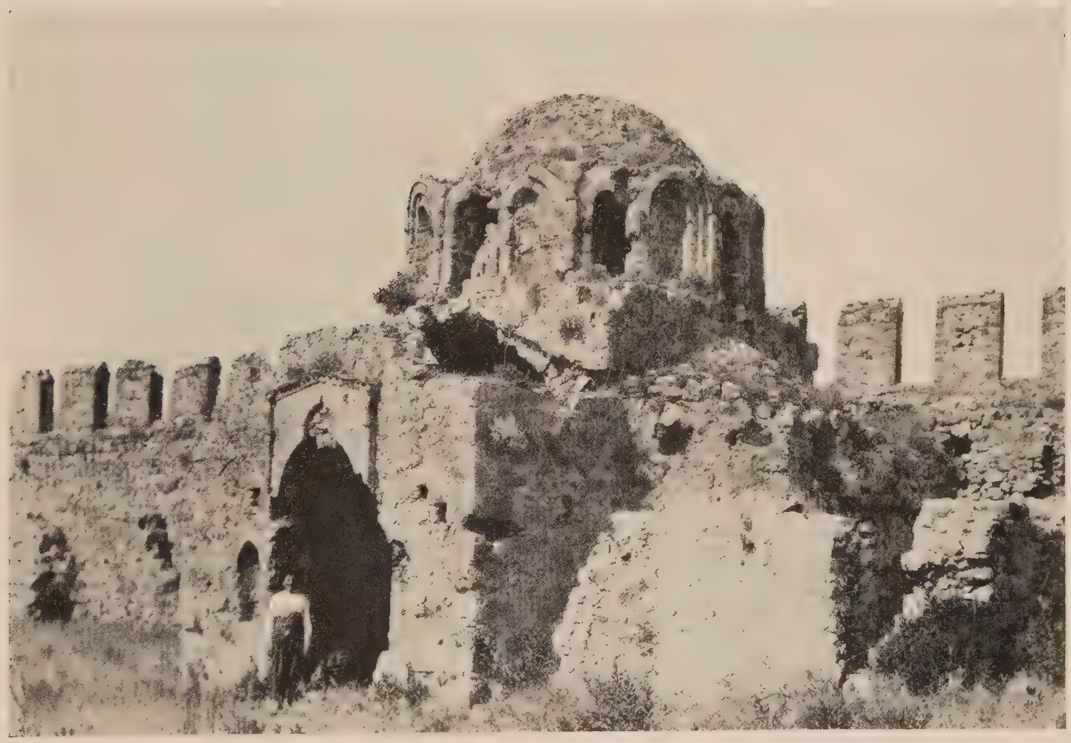

BUILDING NEAR BAZAR IN ALAYA
A Han rather than a combination of Besestan & Charchi
Open Courtyard
S
N
(Approximate)

104. Alaya: sketch diagram of plan of "Besestan" in Kaleh (probably 9th–10th century A.H.; 15th–16th century A.D.)



105. Alaya: Byzantine church above Kaleh

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enceinte. This gate is a huge square tower of beautiful construction. As one can see by some remnants, there was formerly a decoration with geometric interlacing which has now almost disappeared. Entrance and exit of this gate tower stand again at right angles. On the kaleh one notices a Byzantine church (Fig. 105) the original plan of which is difficult to make out. It shows a central dome and a barrel vault covering the space between entrance and dome, with apses to right and left of the central dome. The apse opposite the entrance is separated from the central dome by a space which was probably barrel-vaulted. The pastophoria to right and left of the apse are traceable but seem to be somewhat obliterated by later reconstruction. The interior contains remnants of frescoes, representing saints.[1] These frescoes are now covered by a blackish deposit which might have originated through smoke. Perhaps the frescoes underneath might still be salvaged, although they seem to be in pretty bad shape. There are no other monuments on the top of the kaleh, save a considerable number of cisterns. The view of the coast line towards the west is remarkably beautiful. By abrupt trails we descended from the kaleh towards the "Ala ed-Din" or "Andisli" Djami. On our way down we noticed several Seljuk inscriptions in the walls and several rather fine old houses with a double row of windows in the upper rooms and with carved ceilings. "Ala ed-Din" Djami is very disappointing; the present building is a miserable structure with wooden roof hardly more than 200 years old. A Seljuk building or group of buildings must have been on the spot, for in the front wall are three inscriptions, one of them with the year 767 A.H. (1277/8 A.D.) (inscription no. 13), stating that this mosque was built by Abu'l Ma' ali, emir es-Sawahil ("sea-lord"). Of the other two inscriptions the first deals with a reconstruction of the mosque, the second (inscription no. 13a) refers again to Aqshebeh Sultan and seems — according to Dr. Wittek — to be of a funerary character.

The Tersane of Alaya

A little farther down from Ala ed-Din Djami is the most important building of Alaya, the Tersane, or naval arsenal, built according to its inscription by Ala ed-Din Kaikobad I (616-634 A.H. [1219–1236 A.D.]) (inscription 15; Fig. 213). So far as I am aware, this very important building is the only known Seljuk Tersane, or naval arsenal (sketch diagram of plan, Fig. 107; views, Figs. 101, 106, 108, 109). Islamic ports and arsenals are known in the Moghreb; the port and arsenal of Mahdiya [2] in Tunisia was constructed in such a way that it could be entered by a galley, without interference from the people on land. Another naval arsenal of the period of the Merinids is in Saleh, north of Rabat on the Atlantic coast of Morocco.[1] Unfortunately we lack detailed information about both of these arsenals.

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[1] See Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, pp. 79, 80.

[2] Marçais, "Manuel d'art Musulman," *Architecture*, I, 134; II, 563.

The Tersane is approached from the north side. In front of the building, properly speaking, are two rectangular chambers, serving probably for the administration of the establishment. The eastern chamber forms part of the eastern front, which is washed by the water of the bay, has three windows on the water side, and two on the north side, and is entered by a door on the west which opens into a little yard formed by the two chambers and the wall of the Tersane itself. The right or western chamber is of a plan similar to the first chamber. In the wall of the Tersane itself is a door leading into the interior, which is covered by a segmental arch. Above this arch is an inscription in beautiful Neskhi characters stating that the Tersane was built by Ala ed-Din Kaikobad I. The writing of this inscription somewhat resembles the writing of the inscription of Aqshebeh turbeh. We find also floral decorations similar to the latter's though less elaborate. The inscription has a moulded frame on top and on the sides.

This side of the building, as well as the sea front, is constructed of well-squared stones, and the whole is in a perfect state of preservation. Through the gate we enter the arsenal proper, which consists of five large vaults, each opening by a wide pointed arch into the water of the bay. Each of the vaults is about 44 meters deep and 8 meters wide. The five vaults are separated and supported by arcades of four pointed arches supported by three heavy piers which are about 3.50 meters long, the thickness of wall and pier being about 1.80 meters. The walls are of squared stone, so are the flat ribs which run from one pier to the other, but the vaults themselves are of the same type of brick which we have observed in some other buildings of Alaya. I measured one of the stray bricks found in the wall of the western annex and found that its visible measurements were 37 by 7 cm.

The ribs and the vaults are very slightly pointed. Some of the vaults have been opened here and there at a later date in order to admit more light. The wide halls and the powerful arches and piers are very impressive. The roof of the Tersane is flat.

As stated already the eastern ends of the five aisles are in the water of the bay, but the draught in the front part is only about one foot. As the live rock appears in the water the relation between rockbed and construction must always have been the same. The rear of the vaults is filled today with gravel, the level of which may of course have changed. Unless the level of the Mediterranean, or at least of the coast of Alaya, has changed quite considerably, it would not have been possible to enter the Tersane with a galley without taking it out of the water. I think, indeed, that this Tersane was not built to be

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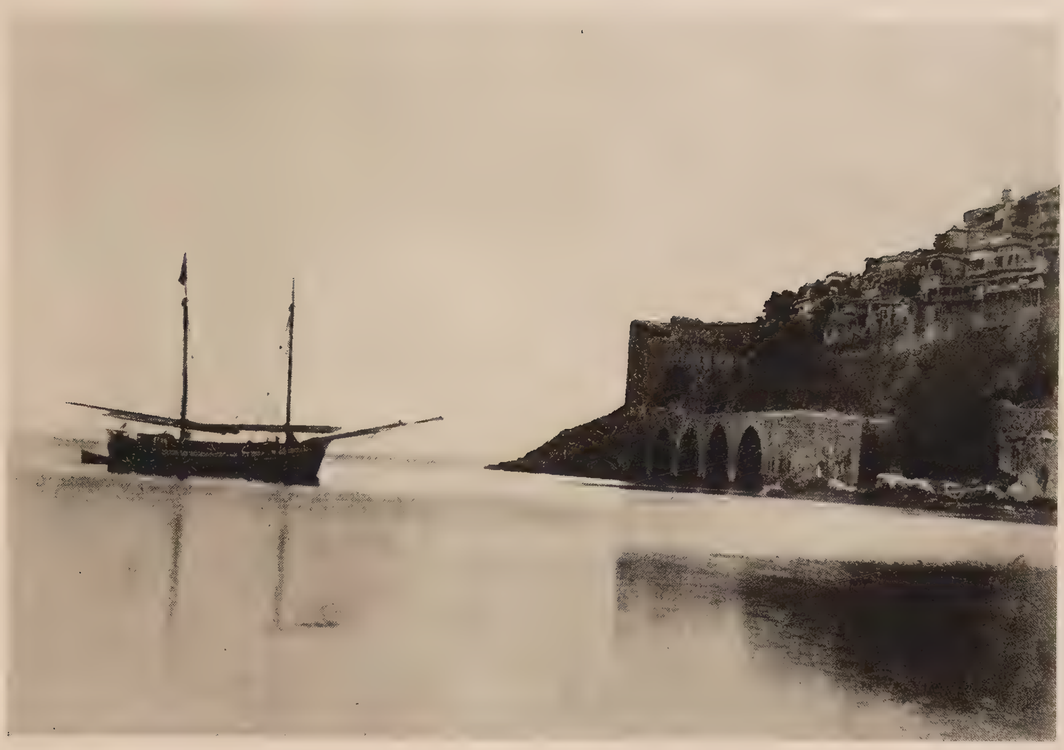
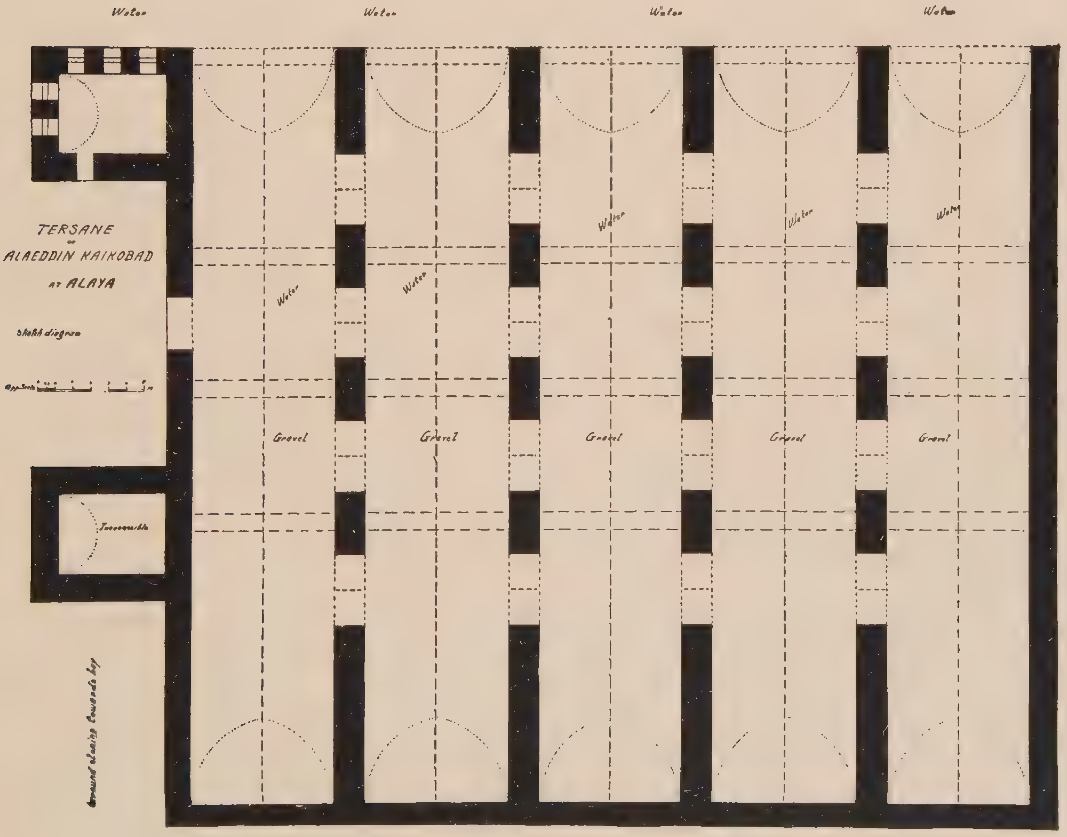
[1] Marçais, *op. cit.* II, pp. 562–564.



106. Alaya: Port with Seljuk Tersane (between 616 and 634 A.H.; 1219 and 1236 A.D.)


Water
Water
Water
Water
TERSANE
of
ALAEDDIN KAIKOBAD
at ALAYA
Sketch diagram
App. Scale 3 m
Water
Water
Water
Water
Water
Gravel
Gravel
Gravel
Gravel
Gravel
Inaccessible
Ground sloping towards bay

107. Alaya, Tersane: sketch diagram of plan

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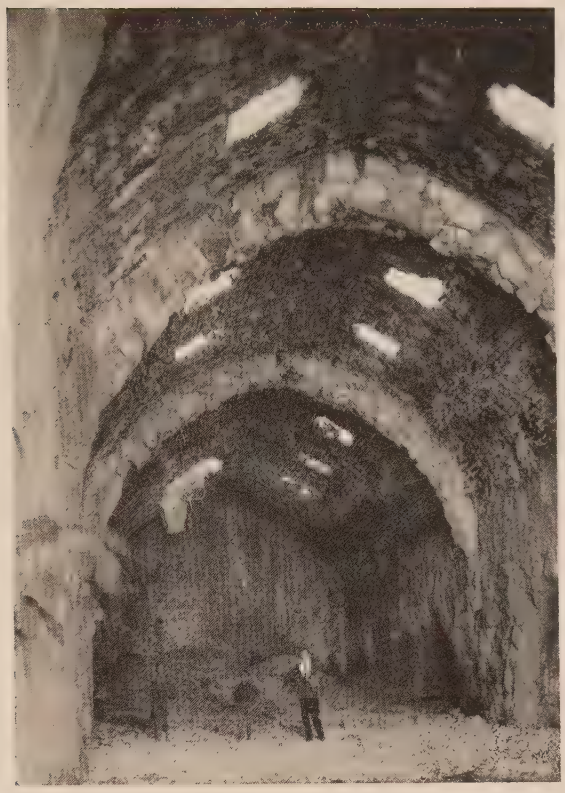
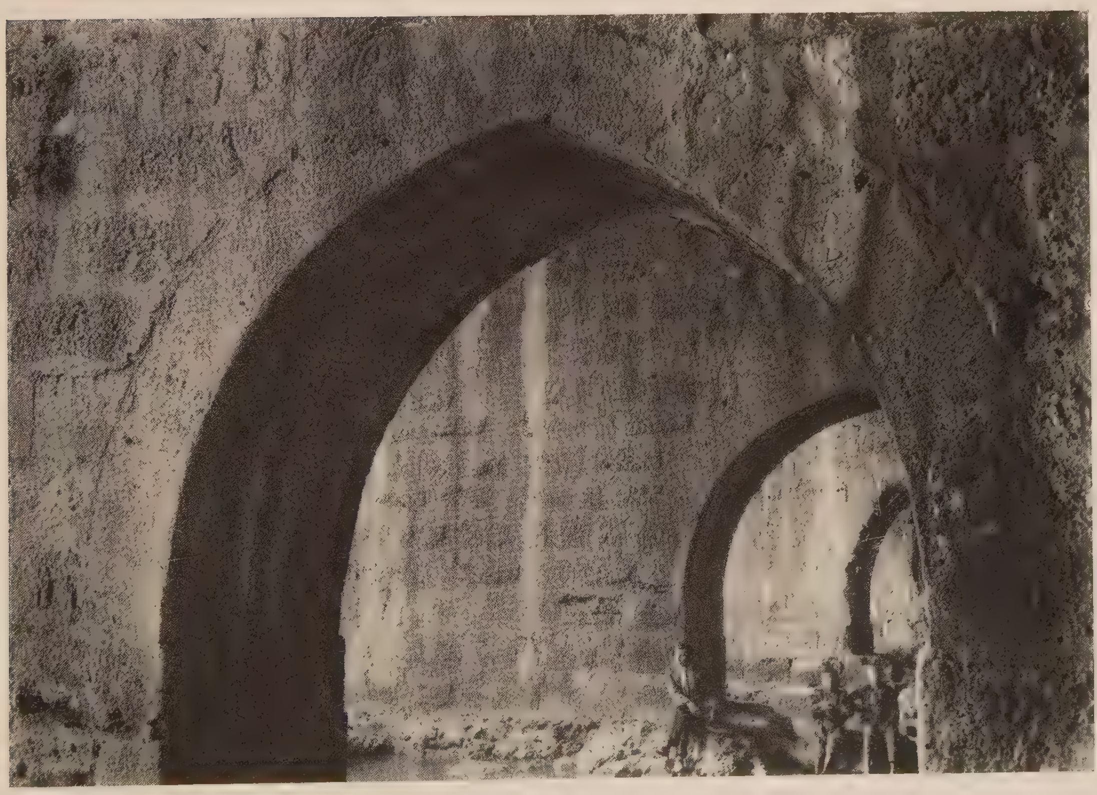


108. Alaya, Tersane: interior of one of the five vaults



109. Alaya, Tersane: view through the arches connecting the five vaults

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entered by ships afloat but that the large galleys were pulled on a wooden structure above the water level for the purpose of caulking or other repair work. Occasionally one of the five ways might have been used for the construction of a new galley. The Tersane is still used today for the same purpose of repairing ships, but their size is far from filling these wide halls.

Such an important naval construction permits valuable conclusions. Alaya was conquered by Ala ed-Din Kaikobad in the early seventh century, and soon the rulers, descendants of horsemen of the center of Asia, recognized the importance of a navy and naval base in the Mediterranean. For — as stated — this arsenal must have had a military purpose. As a commercial port Alaya would have been impossible, as it is today. Antalia is the natural commercial port in those regions (Cilicia being at that time part of the kingdom of Lesser Armenia).

Kyzil Kuleh

Though forming part of the sea wall, properly speaking, the Tersane and the other structures of the port are separated from the town by a second wall. Walking towards the north along the sea wall, one reaches first a quite important structure surmounted by a barrel vault the function of which is not quite clear to me. Behind this structure is the northern end of the sea wall: the Kyzil Kuleh, or red tower (Figs. 102, 103). This magnificent octagonal tower, in size rivalling those of Yedi Kuleh or Rumili Hissar at Stambul, is much earlier than these Ottoman structures, for an inscription in the wall assigns its date of construction to the period of Ala ed-Din Kaikobad I, in the year 623 A.H. (1226 A.D.) (inscription no. 12).

Conclusions Concerning Alaya

It is a surprising fact that except for the Tersane and the fortifications not a single Seljuk mosque, medresseh, or other structure has been preserved in Alaya.

The fortifications, however, are of the very first importance, and a special study of the whole system of defence of Alaya would certainly be worth while for a specialist in medieval fortification.

A second task in Alaya should be the study of all the numerous inscriptions in the fortifications. Unfortunately I was not able to photograph the one on Kyzil Kuleh, as it is at a considerable height and can be reached only with the help of a telephoto lens. A careful analysis of the Byzantine church ought to be made.

Thirdly, it would also be interesting to study several monuments in the vicinity of Alaya, which I had no time to visit. I mention them here with reserve, my information being based on hearsay. About four araba hours from

Alaya is a turbeh and mosque of Mahmud Seyid. The mosque is said to date from the period of Kilidj Arslan. I was also told of an early Ottoman mosque, medresseh, and konak (?) called Gulefchen Djami and medresseh. I was also told of a Seyideh Zeinab turbeh in the vicinity of Alaya.

Fourthly, an investigation ought to be made of the old Seljuk roads connecting Alaya with the outside world (see map Fig. 127).

There was first a Seljuk road leading from Alaya to Antalia. This road is fixed by the Sharafseh Han on the seashore west of Alaya, which will be described later. A further Seljuk Han is said to be at Koepru Han on the Koepru Su, east of Antalia, and since the road went probably via Alara the important Seljuk Han said to be at Alara, west of Sharafseh, belongs probably to the same road.[1] Furthermore, Kiepert lists a Han site at Bazarjik midway between Alara and Koepru Han. Secondly, there is said to have been a Seljuk route leading from Alaya towards Konia, which road may have run between Sharafseh and Alaya on the route called Tash Alan Yolu by Kiepert, who here registers a Han site, which may be Seljuk or not. Another possibility would be from Alara north-eastward. At the same time the roads leading from Antalia towards Konia ought to be studied. There is an important Seljuk Han at Karghy Han (Karghil Han, Kiepert). Local tradition tells me that this road is called the Ibrady Yolu and leads to Ibrady via another Han, called "Tul Han," about which I was not able to gain any further information. Kiepert lists two more Han sites (whether they are Seljuk is not known) on the eastern affluents of the Manaygat Tchai (Melas). A following-up of all these roads will not only furnish the record of the important Hans of Karghy Han and Alara, but will probably bring clarity also into the whole problem of the Seljuk roads between Konia, Alaya, and Antalia. In this discussion I have naturally not included the route from Antalia northward, which is clearly marked by Evdir Han, Kirk Geuz Han, Susuz Han, and Indjir Han (all Seljuk).[2]

VII. Four Seljuk Hans of Southern Anatolia

Sharafseh Han Near Alaya

Sharafseh Han is situated about 15 kilometers west of Alaya and must have been on the road from Alaya to Antalia.[3] The Han is conspicuous from the sea, as it is situated on a bluff of moderate elevation. On the return from Alaya we left the "Zinet Derya" by dory and landed at a point opposite the Han. We were more or less drenched as we crossed the surf, climbed a low

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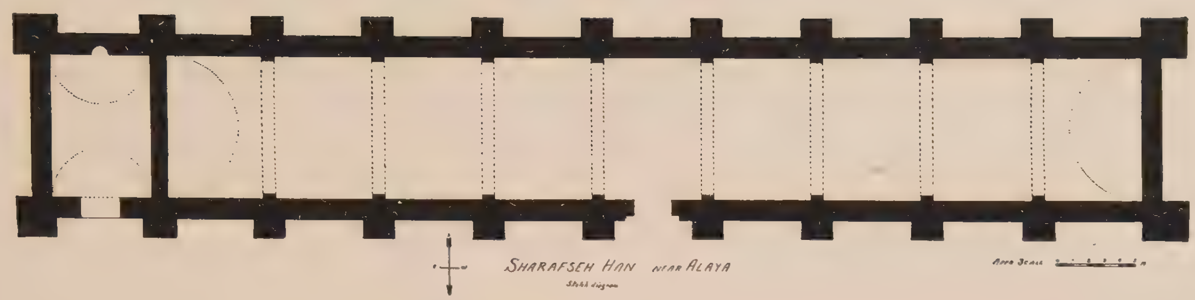
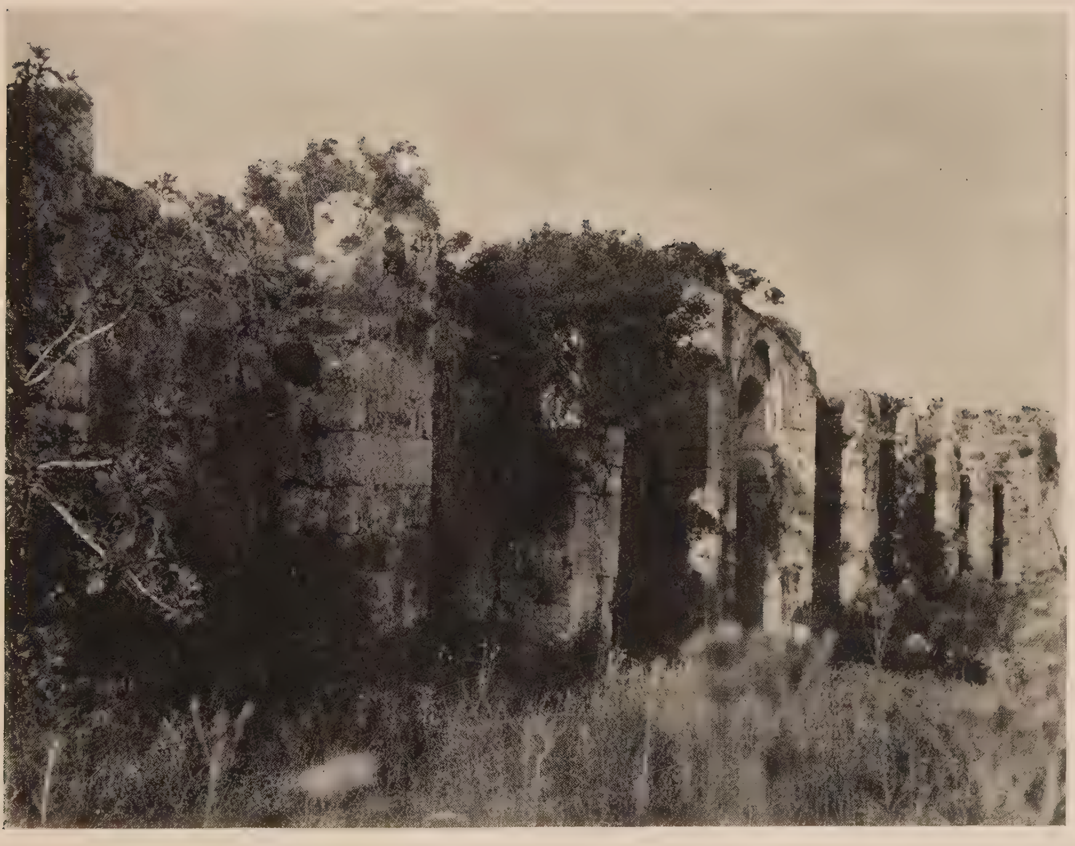
[1] Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler,* mentions a castle of Ala-ed Din, but no Han, at Alara.

[2] These four Hans have also been discussed in a study of the Seljuk Hans of Anatolia to be published in the *Art Bulletin.*

[3] See notes in Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler,* p. 69.


SHARAFSEH HAN NEAR ALAYA
Sketch diagram

110. Sharafseh Han, near Alaya (between 634 and 644 A.H.; 1236 and 1246 A.D.): sketch diagram of plan



111. Sharafseh Han, near Alaya: exterior view with main entrance

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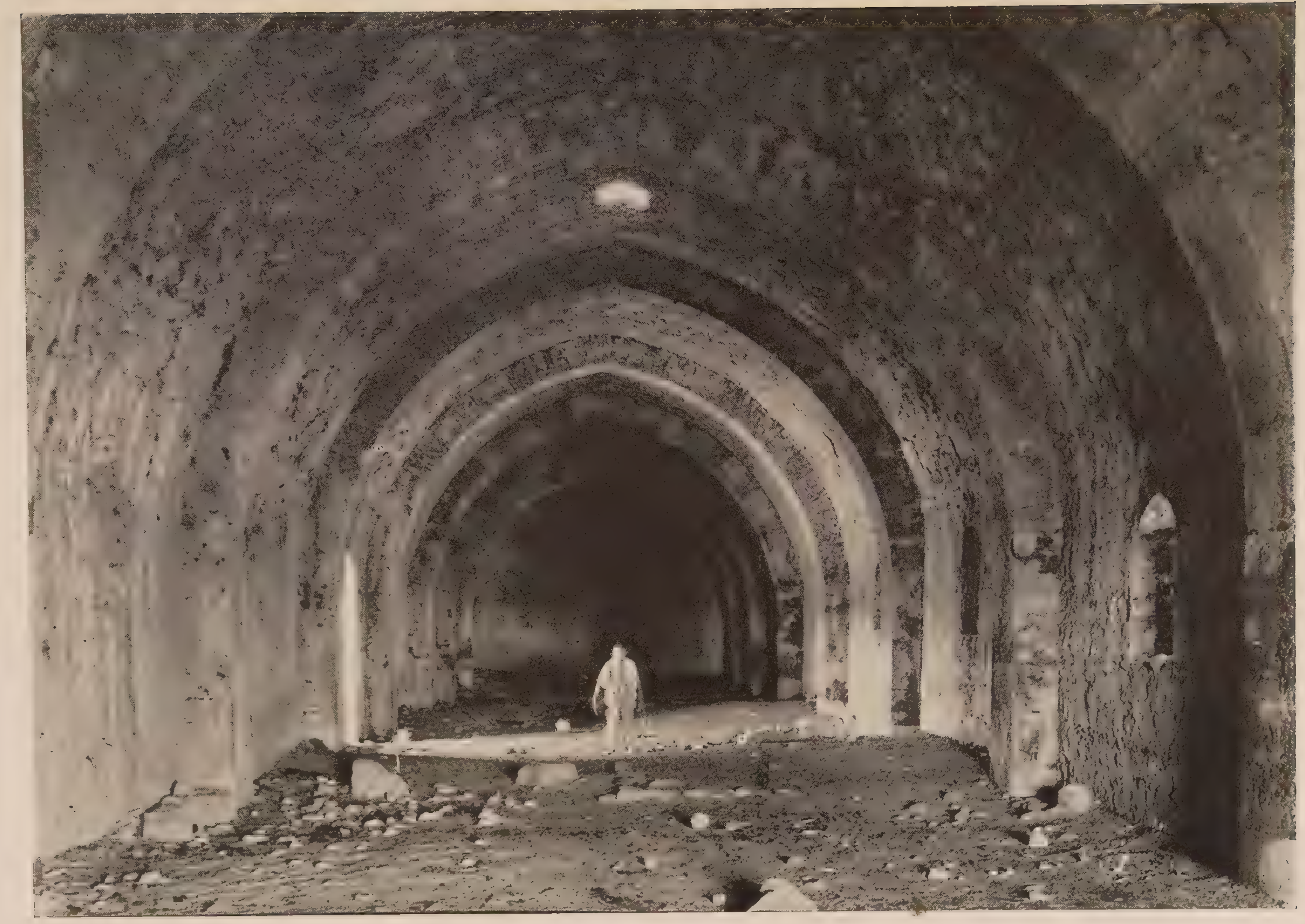

112. Sharafseh Han, near Alaya: interior

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dune which separates a very fertile, slightly marshy plain from the sea and finally ascended the bluff on which the Han is situated. We succeeded in conciliating the inhabitants of the small hamlet west of the Han who greeted us rifle in hand, and were allowed to proceed and to survey the Han (sketch diagram of plan, Fig. 110; views, Figs. 111, 112).

The Han is a long rectangular block of masonry which stretches from east to west. West of the Han is a square watchtower, built probably to watch the sea and perhaps also for signalling purposes. The outside measurements of the Han are approximately 71 by 11.50 meters (all measurements were paced). The aspect is somber and fortresslike. It is built of heavy, roughly squared blocks of limestone, which are laid in irregular courses. The two long sides of the rectangle have nine heavy buttresses of square plan plus four square blind corner towers. We may talk of buttresses since they correspond to the flat ribs of the interior construction. Buttresses and walls are provided with battlements which increase the somber character of the building. Between the corner buttresses the east and west sides each have one buttress of triangular plan in the middle of the wall. An opening is now broken into the west wall, but the two old entrances into the Han are located on the north side, turned away from the sea.

The main entrance is situated between the fourth and fifth buttresses and leads into the main hall. The second entrance is situated between the ninth buttress and the eastern corner tower and gives access to a small mesdjid.

The main entrance forms a niche in the body of the wall; a stilted semicircular arch forms the outer arch. A funnel-shaped vault, supported by two small squinches in the corners, encloses a pointed arched slab with the founder's inscription, which states that the Han was built during the reign of Ghiyas ed-Din Kai Khusrew II, who reigned from 634–643 A.H. (1236–1245 A.D.) (inscription no. 16). The door itself is covered by a segmental arch with simple (not joggled) voussoirs. The door leads into a vast, very impressive hall, which is covered by a very slightly pointed tunnel vault interrupted by eight flat ribs at regular intervals (Fig. 112). These ribs start from the ground on the sides and are also very slightly pointed. The north wall is plain, but the south wall shows between each pair of ribs a small niche of window size terminating in a pointed arch. The tenth vaulting compartment of the Han is formed by a mesdjid on the east side, which is separated from the hall by a heavy partition in which I did not notice any door. The mesdjid is entered by a small door surmounted by a trefoil arch, the upper leaf of which encloses a Koranic inscription (inscription no. 17; Figs. 214, 215). It is to be noticed that the masonry of both entrances is of carefully hewn stones, much better than the remainder of the construction. The mesdjid has a barrel vault running north-south. The mihrab has a very simple decoration; above it a well-carved classic lintel with ornamental bands of egg-and-dart and shuttle and astragal design has been set into the wall.

The watchtower seems to be of similar construction as the Han. The roof of the latter is flat, now overgrown with vegetation. I did not find any inside stairs leading to the roof. Whether or not the Han was formerly surrounded by an enceinte, I cannot say. The fact that a fortresslike Han has two doors and two rooms which do not communicate inside is rather surprising and suggests such a possibility. I did not find any visible source of water supply.

This Han is of great interest as it is the first known Seljuk example in which the main structure consists of a single large vaulted hall. So far as I am aware, this type is not known outside of Anatolia and seems therefore to be a Seljuk creation.[1] Its continuation in Ottoman architecture I have discussed in my study of the Seljuk Hans in the *Art Bulletin.*

Evdir Han Near Antalia

Evdir Han is the first of a chain of Hans on the Seljuk road leading from Antalia northward across the mountains. The present highway passes west of Evdir Han and runs straight from Antalia towards the mountain pass, but the old Seljuk road gained the foot of the mountains as soon as possible and continued via Evdir Han to Kirk Geuz Han, the second Han, which is situated at the entrance of the mountain road into the plain. Evdir Han is now situated on the road to Almalu.

Evdir Han represents a type of medieval Han known outside of Anatolia but representing the first Seljuk example of this type observed in Anatolia (sketch diagram, Fig. 113; views, Figs. 114–116).[2] Of utilitarian character, it is a large, almost square rectangle, measuring on the outside about 55 by 67 meters and entered by a richly decorated gateway, the upper cornice of which has been destroyed; a plain band of clean-hewn stones is succeeded by a curved molding with dogtooth ornament on the inner edge. Then follows a broad frieze of geometric interlacing enclosing star motives. The mitre arch of the stalactite niche above the door is surrounded by a decorative interlaced band ornament, forming a pointed arch. The stalactites are well carved and contain a fluted-shell pattern of a simple type, such as is to be observed at Ala ed-Din Djami in Nigdeh. Above the decorative pointed arch is a stone slab with an inscription which as yet has resisted decipherment, but enough is legible to show that this Han was constructed by Izz ed-Din Kaikaus I (607–616 A.H. [1215–19 A.D.]) (inscription no. 8b).

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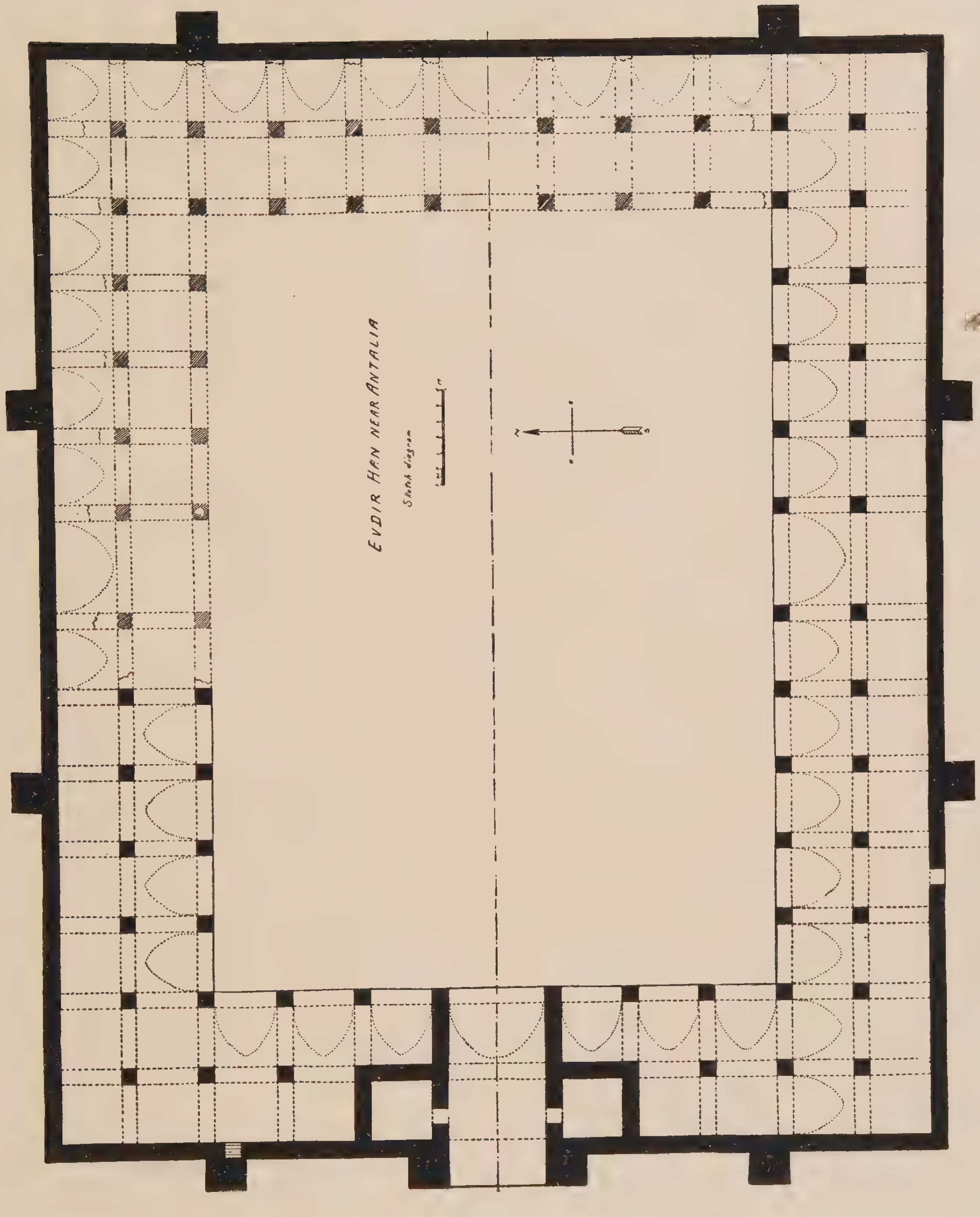
[1] I found, in 1929, in Nigdeh a relatively small Han-like structure of the Seljuk period, consisting of a pointed-arch vault, the entrance being located in one of the narrow sides of the rectangle.

[2] View, but no plan, in Lanckoroński *loc cit.*, II, 188, Fig. 97.


EVDIR HAN NEAR ANTALIA
Sketch diagram
5m
N
S

113. Evdir Han, near Antalia: sketch diagram of plan (between 607 and 616 A.H.; 1210 and 1219 A.D.)

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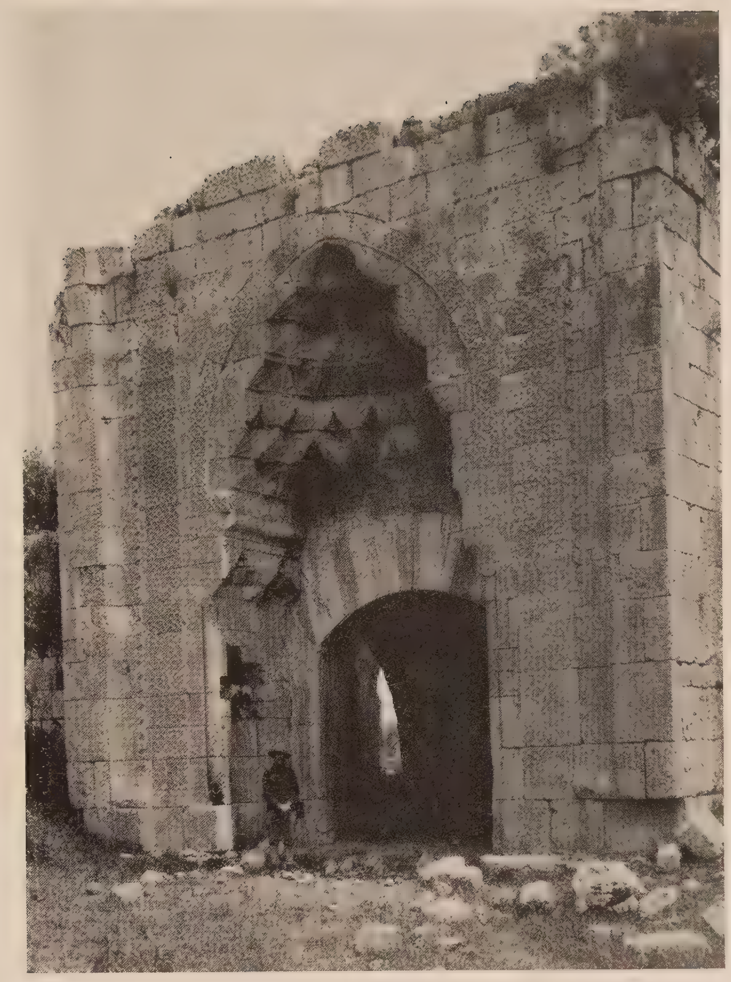
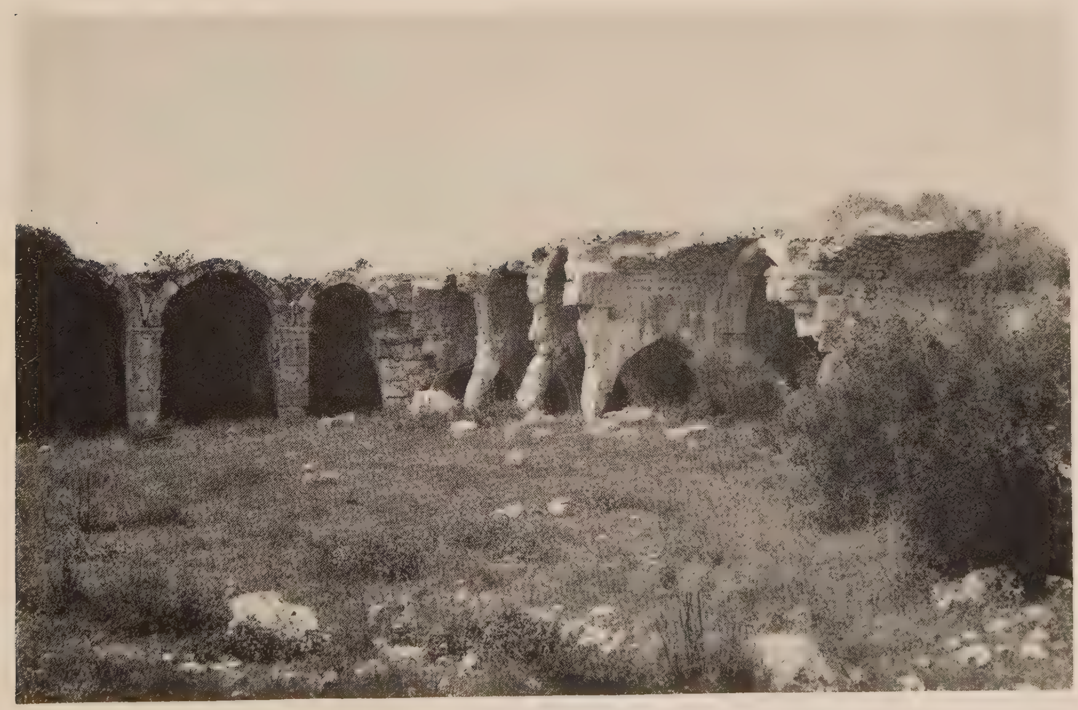


114. Evdir Han, near Antalia: gateway



115. Evdir Han, near Antalia: arcades in courtyard

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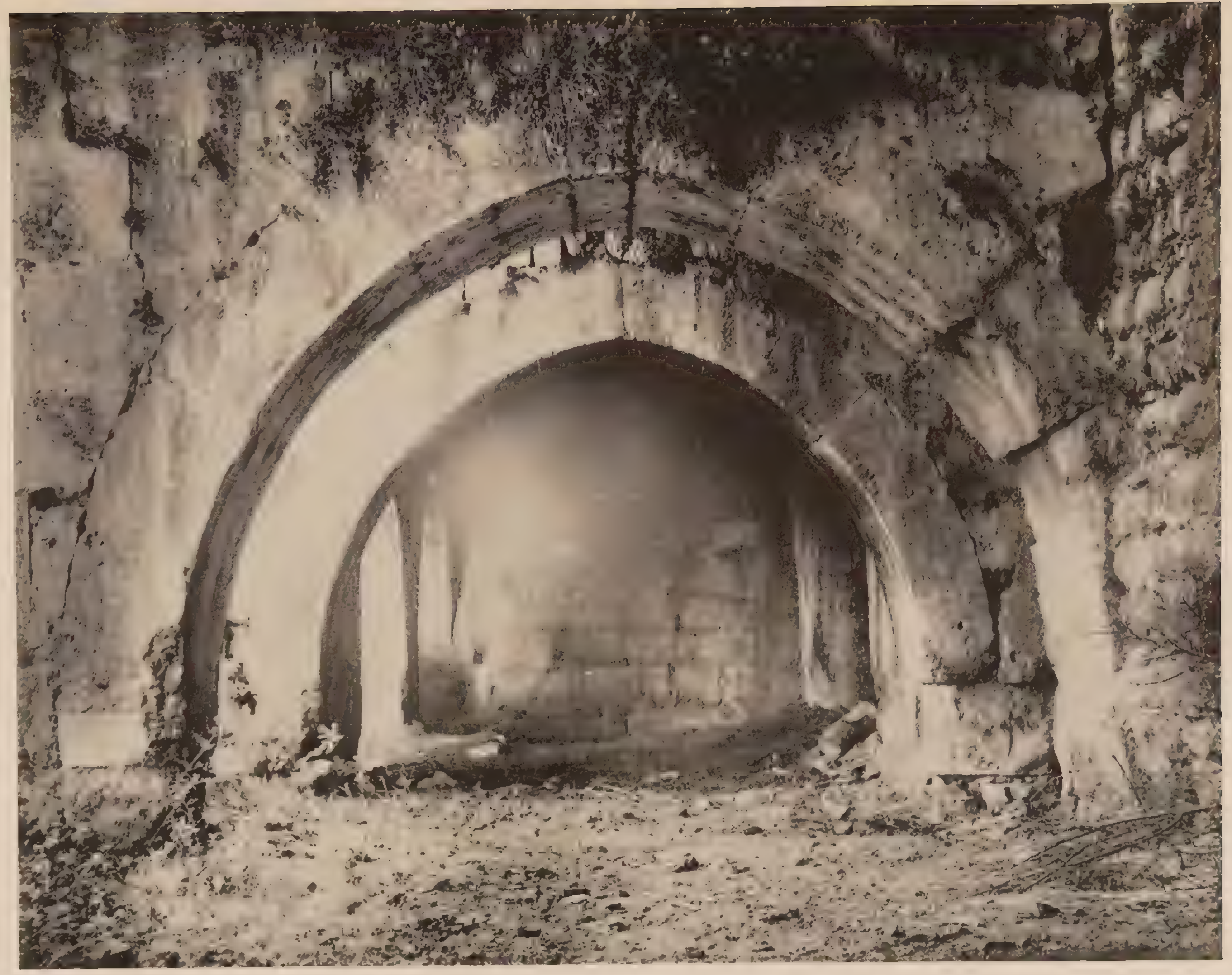


116. Evdir Han, near Antalia: arches supporting arcades

Through the door one enters a large rectangular courtyard which is surrounded by open arcades on all four sides. This is the form of Han which goes back to the type found in the smaller Roman castles and caravanserais along the *limes* of Arabia Petraea and in Syria and northern Mesopotamia. Later it is found with little alteration in the "ribats" of northern Africa and occurs also in the caravanserais of Persia and the Iraq of the Seljuk period. Until now no specimens of this type were known in Anatolia, and it is important now to have on record two Seljuk specimens — Evdir and Kirk Geuz Hans — of this type from which the typical Ottoman Han was developed.

The state of preservation of the Han is rather defective. The western tract is intact; the southern has several fallen vaults. The eastern is almost entirely destroyed, save for the outside wall. The eastern half of the northern tract is destroyed, and the western is considerably damaged. However, there can be no doubt about any essential point of the plan, except that the eastern half might perhaps have had a row of arcades one vaulting unit deep instead of two. This, however, is by no means certain or probable.

The arcades surrounding the courtyard are of the usual Seljuk type: very slightly pointed arch vaults running toward the center of the courtyard, supported by arcades, which in their turn consist of two pointed arches. It is the same type of vaulting which has frequently been recorded in the front courtyards of the Hans with three- or five-aisled halls in the rear (Sultan Han near Kaisarieh and near Akserai, Ulu Han near Tokat, Karatai Han near Azizieh, and others). This Han has no sections walled in and forming thus a more complete shelter, with the exception of a chamber to the right and one to the left of the entrance; it offers only shelter, not housing, and is therefore the most primitive form. The central axis is emphasized, since the vault of the gate is wider than the three arcades to right and left. In the north and south wings a similar emphasis is laid on the eighth arcade of the ten arcades visible from the courtyard. To these arcades four more have to be added, two of which fill the east, and two the west corner. This brings the number of north-south arcades to fourteen. The eighth arcade — wider than the others — forms a sort of transversal axis of the building. One might suspect that it served as mesdjid, but I looked in vain for a mihrab.

A few features are still to be mentioned. In the third arcade north of the main entrance are stairs leading up to the roof. The roof was of course used as sleeping accommodation, and almost every Han has comfortable stairs leading to its flat surface. In the third arcade of the south wing is an entrance into the wall, which may lead to the cistern or which may simply be a toilet or a small hammam.

Southwest of the Han is a vast underground cistern, with four long barrel vaults, entered by a flight of steps leading underground. It is very curious that in the East cisterns of fortified castra or caravanserais are generally placed outside of the now visible fortifications.

The walls of the Han are built in fairly well-cut rectangular blocks. Some of the stones bear stonecutters' marks. The vaults are constructed in rubble, the flat ribs in cut stone.

Kirk Geuz Han Near Antalia

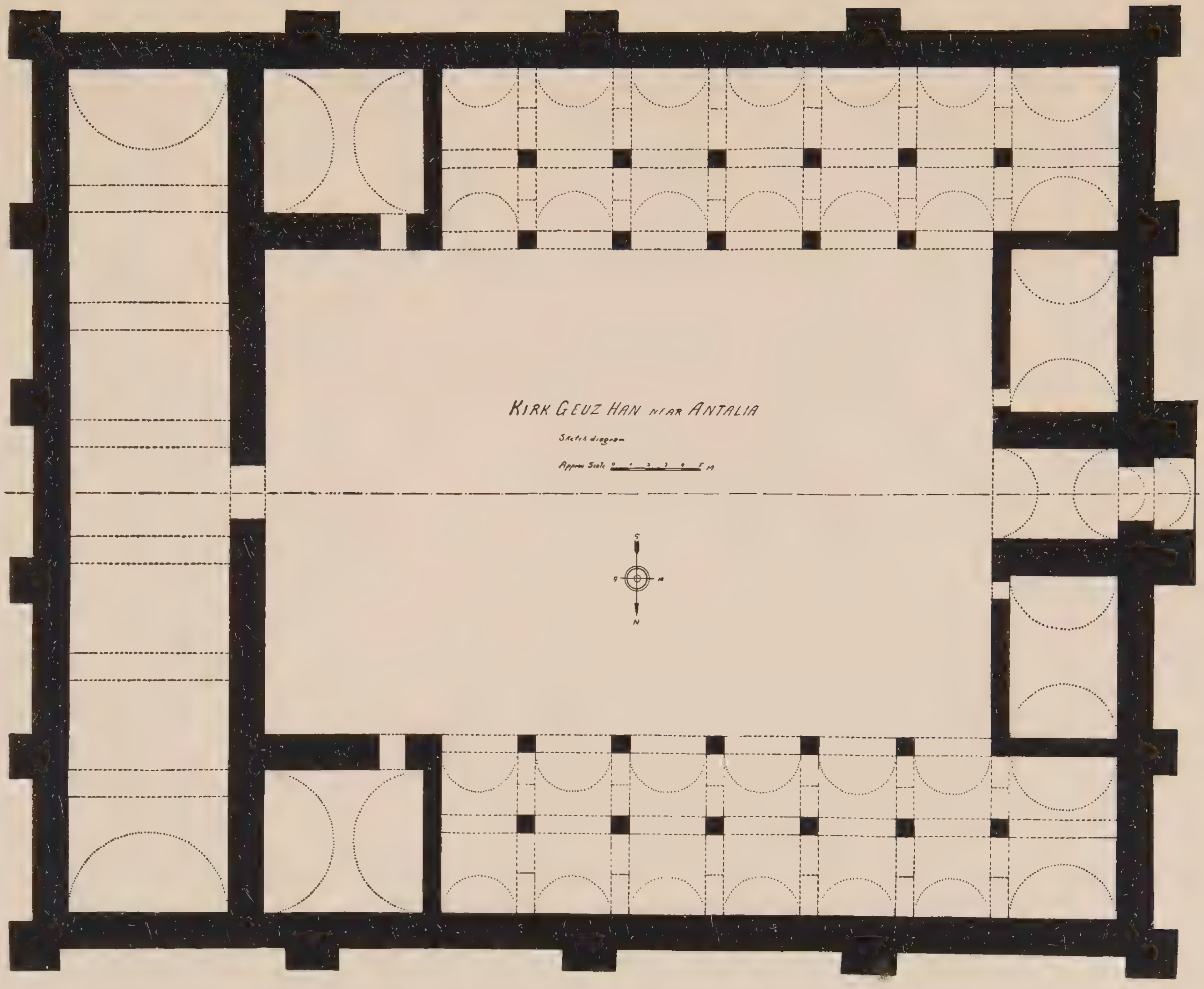
Kirk Geuz Han seems to show at first glance a variation of the plan of Edvir Han (sketch diagram, Fig. 117; views, Figs. 118–120). But the arrangement of the plan is much more interesting than that of Evdir Han. The whole is dominated by the monumental hall in the rear tract. In front of this hall is a courtyard. Rather than define this han as consisting of an arcaded courtyard in which part of the arcades are replaced by vaulted halls, I prefer to see in it the first recorded specimen of a han consisting of a vaulted hall with entrance on the long side and with an arcaded courtyard in front of the entrance. Thus the plan of Kirk Geuz Han offers most interesting analogies to the plans of hall and courtyard in which the entrance of the hall is on the narrow side (the Sultan Hans, Karatai Han, Ulu Han, Tokat, and others).

Kirk Geuz Han is almost bare of any ornament but lacks neither dignity nor beauty in its simplicity.

The front of the Han shows long bare walls, built of roughly squared stones. The corners are marked by blind towers of square plan, while two more such towers are found between the gateway and each corner, making a total of four blind towers for the façade. The central gateway gives this simple front a monumental note. It is almost intact, a rare occurrence. The stones used in the construction of the gateway are much better hewn than those of the walls and some of them bear stonecutters' marks. A double molding marks the outer circumference. The absolutely undecorated front of the gateway encloses a deeply recessed niche covered by a short, pointed-arch vault, which is marked on the outside by a twice-recessed ornamental arch. There is only a stone seat, and no recess to right and left of the niche; the door itself is covered by a segmental arch. Above the door is a large stone tablet with an inscription which is not entirely legible but reveals enough to permit the statement that Kirk Geuz Han was constructed during the reign of Ghiyas ed-Din Kai Khusrew II (634–644 A.H. [1236–1246 A.D.]) (inscription no. 8). The Han was thus constructed later than Evdir Han. There are no decorations whatever save two engaged columns, with simple cubic capitals and bases which seem to carry the ornamental arch enclosing the vault of the gateway.

Passing through the gateway we find ourselves in the courtyard (Fig. 119). It is vast, measuring about 33 by 52 meters.

The entrance tract of the building is built also of very rough masonry—


KIRK GEUZ HAN NEAR ANTALIA
Sketch diagram
Approx Scale 0 1 2 3 4 5 M.
S
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117. Kirk Geuz Han, near Antalia (between 634 and 644 A.H.; 1236 and 1246 A.D.): sketch diagram of plan

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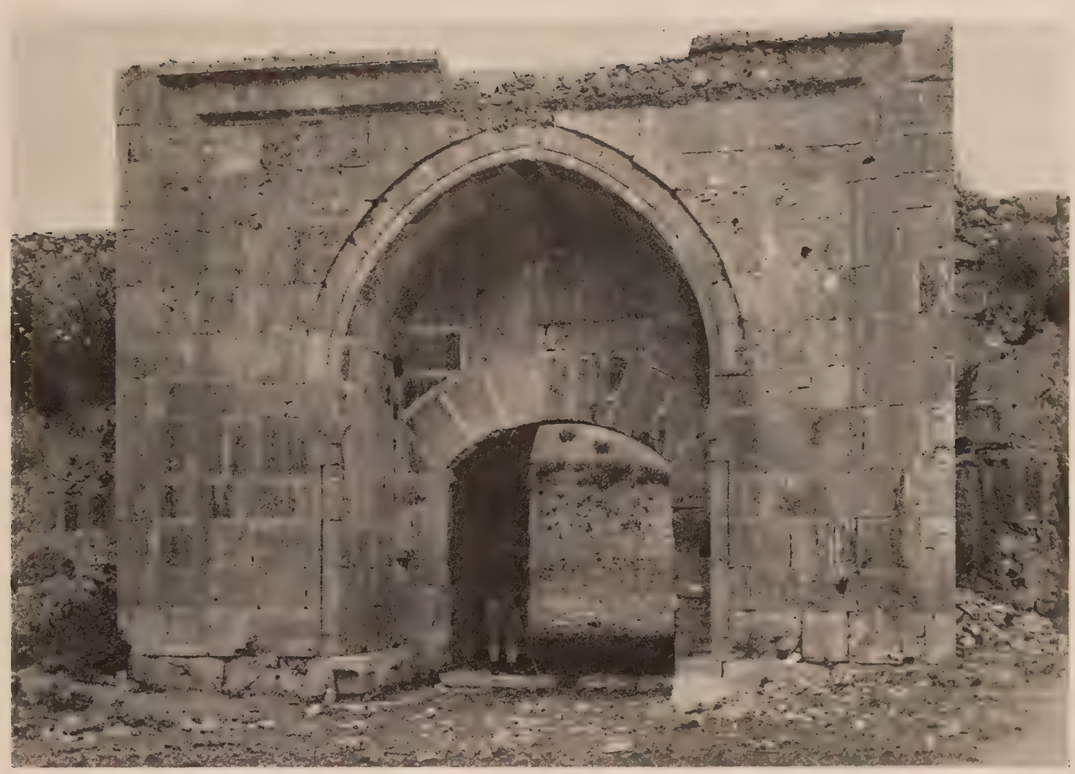
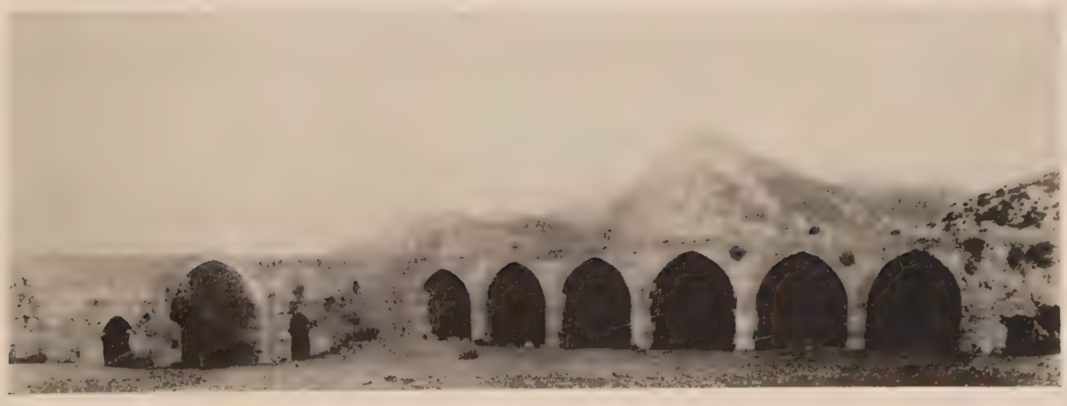


118. Kirk Geuz Han, near Antalia: gateway



119. Kirk Geuz Han, near Antalia: panorama of interior

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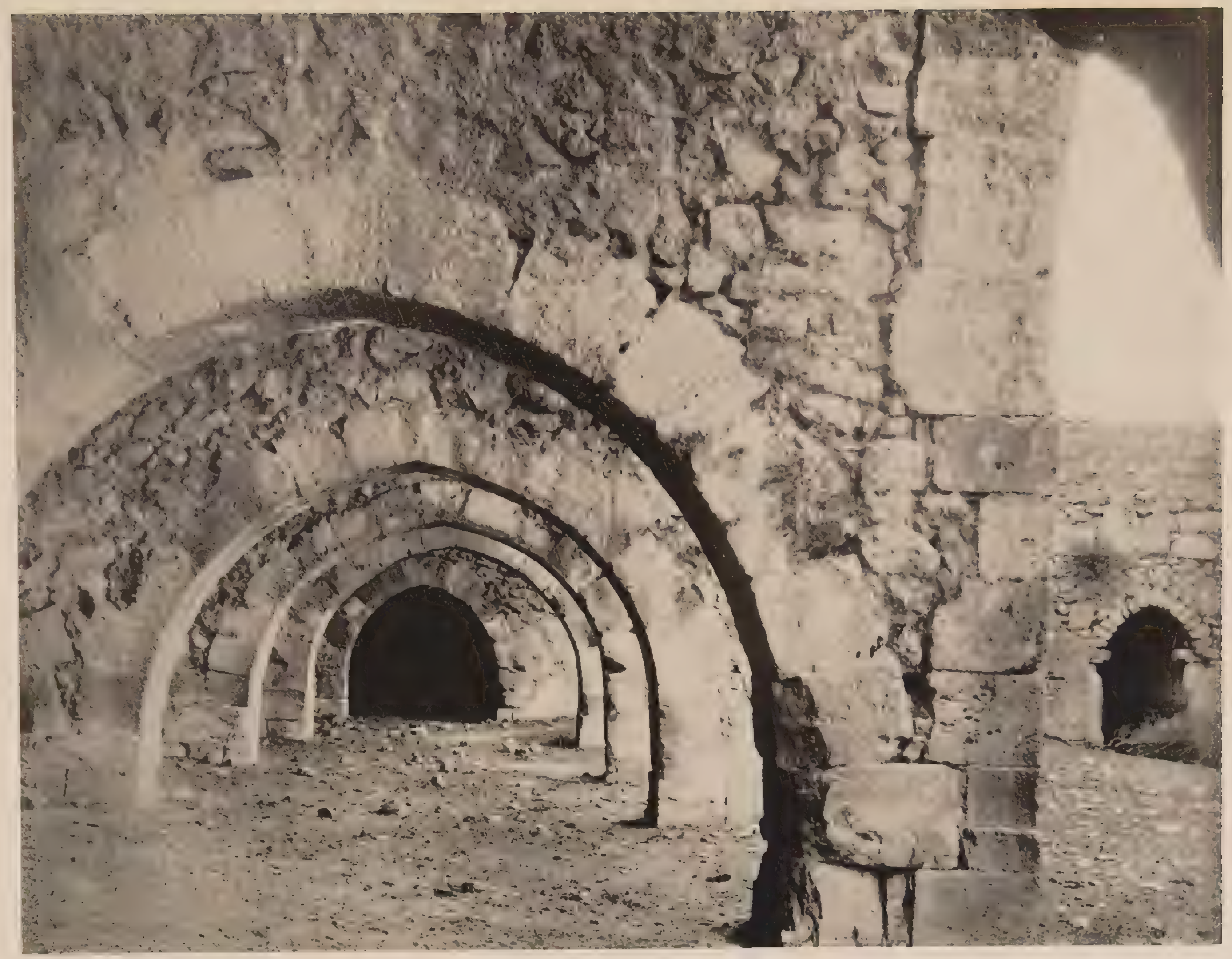
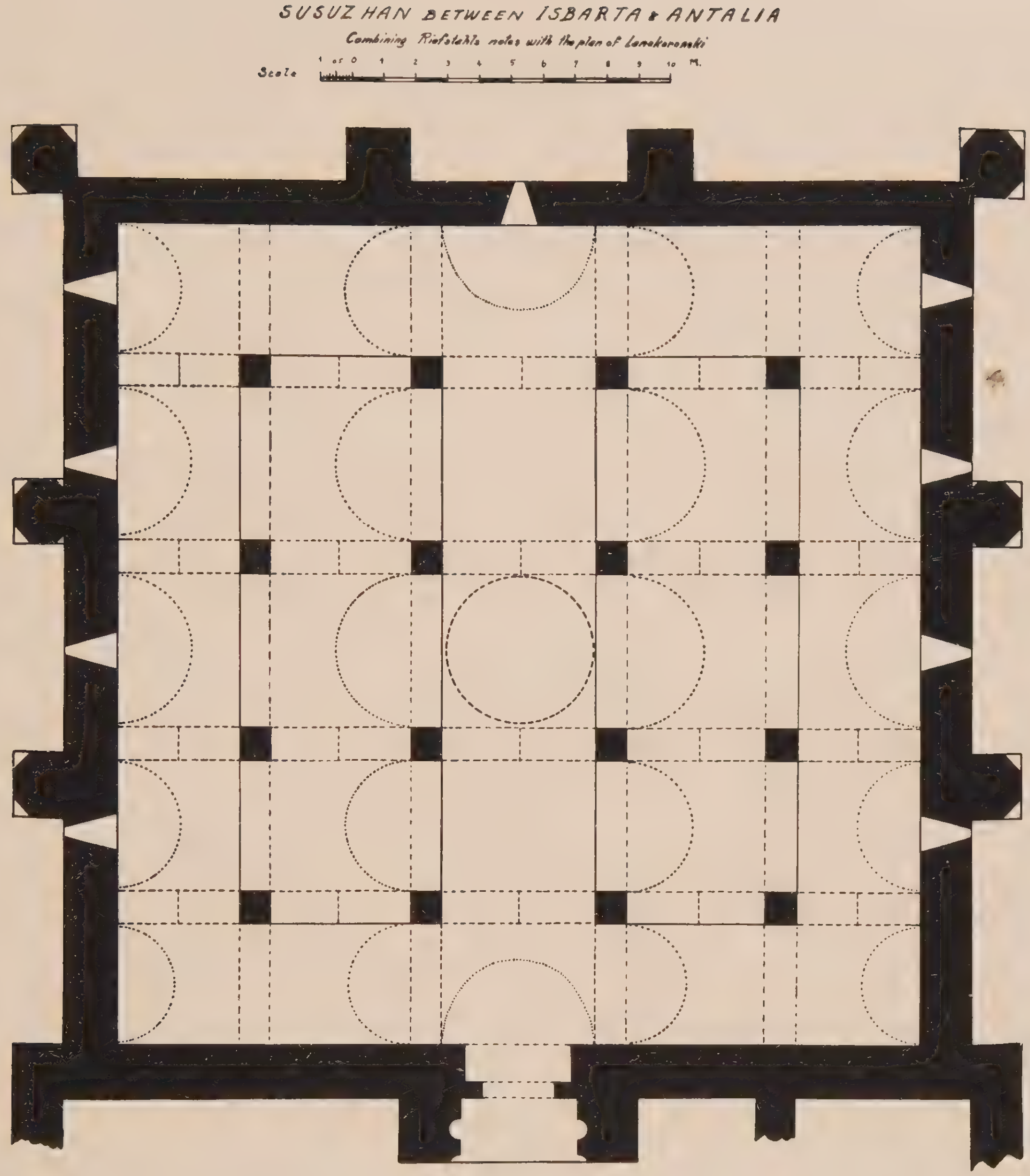


120. Kirk Geuz Han, near Antalia: arches supporting open arcades of Han


SUSUZ HAN BETWEEN ISBARTA & ANTALIA
Combining Riefstahls notes with the plan of Lanckoronski
Scale
1 0.5 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 M.

121. Susuz Han, near Burdur (7th century A.H. — 13th A.D.): plan

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heavy rectangular blocks of stone alternating with rubble. Right and left of the gateway are no arcades, but two large halls with slightly pointed vaults are laid along the outside wall. These halls are entered by small doors, covered by roughly constructed, pointed arches. Save for the lower parts of the walls, which show the same courses of roughly squared blocks as the outside walls, the entire construction of the inside walls of these halls gives the impression of reconstruction, which permits the conclusion that such reconstruction has hardly altered the original plan. The right and left tracts consist each of six arcades built of well-cut stone of the type observed in Evdir Han: the arcades open into pointed-arch vaults running toward the courtyard and divided into two plan sections by a flat rib. Each vault is supported by two pointed arches on either side. Today they are very low but they were somewhat higher, as the soil has risen considerably. For a long time they have been a shelter for cattle.

On the furthermost ends of the right and left tracts are two vaulted chambers, of the same depth as the arcades but covered by a barrel vault of much wider span and higher elevation. The tract opposite the entrance is formed by one huge hall, covered by a vast barrel vault, which is divided by six flat ribs into seven sections. The inside dimensions of this vast hall are approximately 11 by 60 meters. Its elevation considerably exceeds that of the neighboring vaults of the right and left tracts. In its entire character this hall very much resembles Sharafseh Han. The vaults of the divers halls are today covered with tiles. The battlements of the rear wall are still preserved, but the others have disappeared.

Susuz Han

Susuz Han means the waterless Han (plan, Fig. 121; views, Figs. 122–126). It is situated at the foot of the Susuz Dagh, and, as is usual for Seljuk settlements, not in the middle but on the rim of the valley. A small and poor village is situated slightly south of the Han. Upon inquiry I was told by an old man that the last foreigners who had visited this Han had been there fifty-five years ago. This tallies precisely with the visit of Lanckoroński, who has published an excellent plan and elevation, as well as an etching depicting Susuz Han.[1]

Since Lanckoroński's days the study of Islamic art has progressed, and more ample information about this Han today seems desirable. The Hans hitherto described were in many cases practical constructions, but Susuz Han ranks among the finest buildings of Seljuk art. Although not as large as the three great Hans (Sultan Han near Akserai, Sultan Han near Kaisarieh,

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[1] Lanckoroński, *Staedte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens,* vol. II, p. 187, pls. XXXII, XXXIII. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler,* pp. 21, 22.

Karatai Han near Azizieh), it compares favorably with these Seljuk masterpieces. Furthermore this Han shares with Karatai Han the advantage of being in an almost perfect state of preservation.

The date of Susuz Han is not fixed by any inscription, but it must be a structure of the seventh century A. H. (thirteenth Christian). It is built of white, now somewhat weathered marble, and consists of one large hall, having as its inside dimensions 25 by 26 meters. By climbing upon the roof we measured the height and found that the front wall has an altitude of 8.25 meters, while the elevation of the dome is 13.60 meters.

The front wall offers several curious features. In the center is the monumental gateway, which will be described in detail. In the middle of the right half of the façade are the remnants of a buttress, which does not seem to have reached higher than about four meters. Between this destroyed buttress and the corner pier is clearly visible, at the height of about four meters, the springing of a vault, which ran parallel with the front wall. The front side of the corner pier is somewhat damaged. Therefore there must have been a vaulted chamber in front of the Han. The same feature is visible on the left side with the only difference that there are no remnants of a middle pier visible. It has been said [1] that these springing vaults are the indication of a courtyard which has been destroyed. I think that this conclusion is not justified, for the other known Hans with courtyard never have vaulted chambers on the side of the courtyard on which the vaulted hall is situated. The solution of this question will have to be postponed until more material on Seljuk Hans is available. I am inclined to think that there were simply two vaulted chambers to right and left of the entrance. [2]

The gateway is one of the finest pieces of Seljuk decoration (Fig. 124). The rectangle has — starting on the outside — first a border of fine geometric interlacing, then a curved molding with a dogtooth ornament, this again followed by a second, broader band with geometric interlacing. A small slanting band, also with geometric interlacing, frames the slightly recessed panel into which the doorway is set. It is supported at right and left by two fluted columns, the flutings of which are intertwined and braided. The columns stand on square bases with small sunken panels, decorated with geometric interlacing. Their capitals are very curious, being of the type derived from the Corinthian capital, with a double row of beautifully carved palmette leaves of Seljuk design. If the capital were not engaged, there would be eight leaves in each row. The abacus reminds one strangely of classic capitals with the faces curved outward to a point at the angles. A band with rich design of in-

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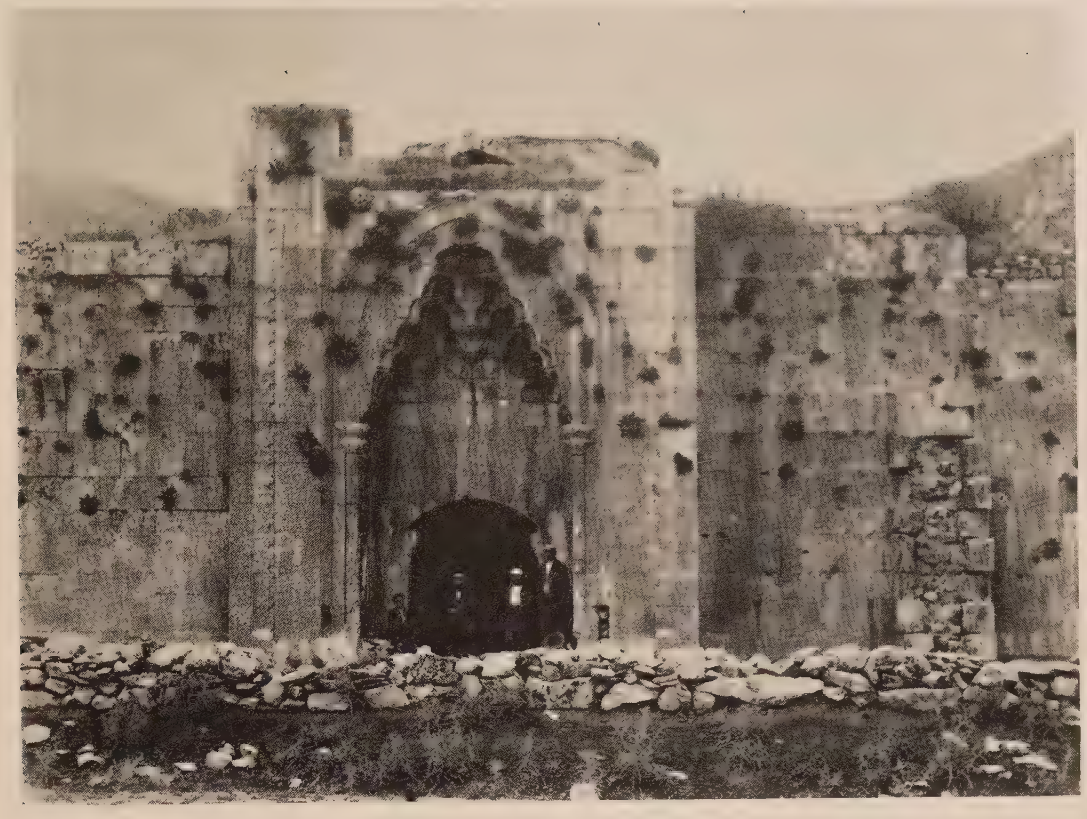
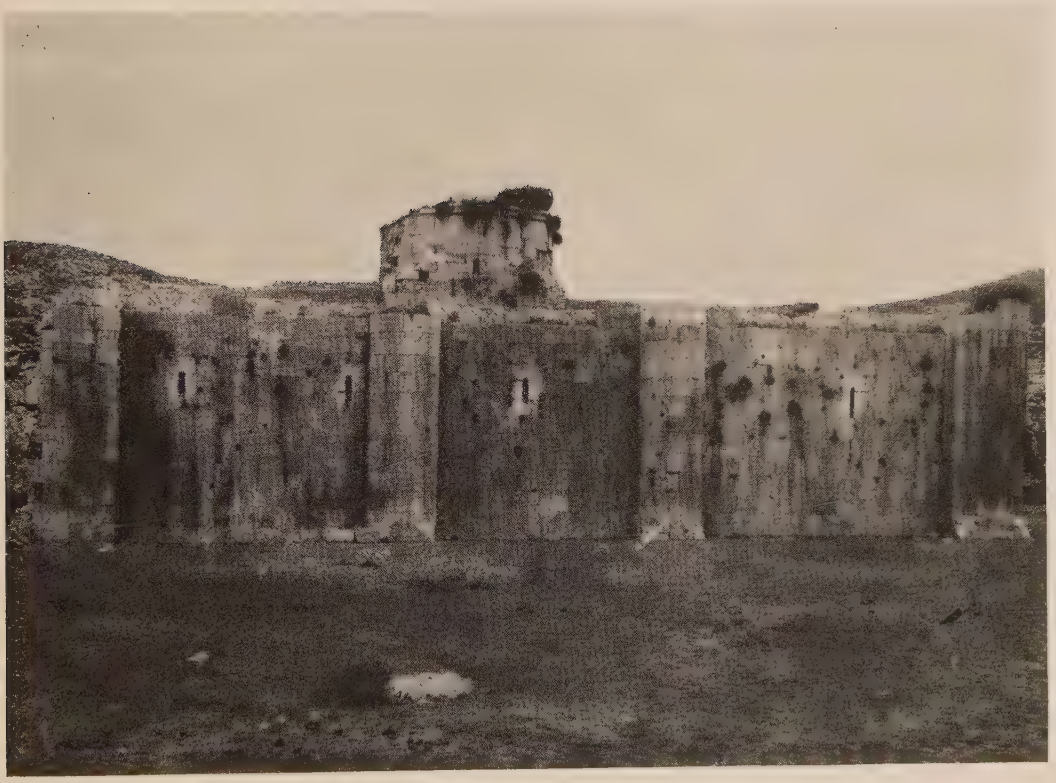
[1] Mueller, *Die Karavanserai im vorderen Orient*, p. 32.

[2] I have visited, in 1929, a hitherto unknown chain of four Hans on the road Konia-Beyshchir. Hans numbers one and four of this chain offer similar outer constructions near the main entrance. This new material will soon be published.



122. Susuz Han, near Burdur: façade



123. Susuz Han, near Burdur: side view

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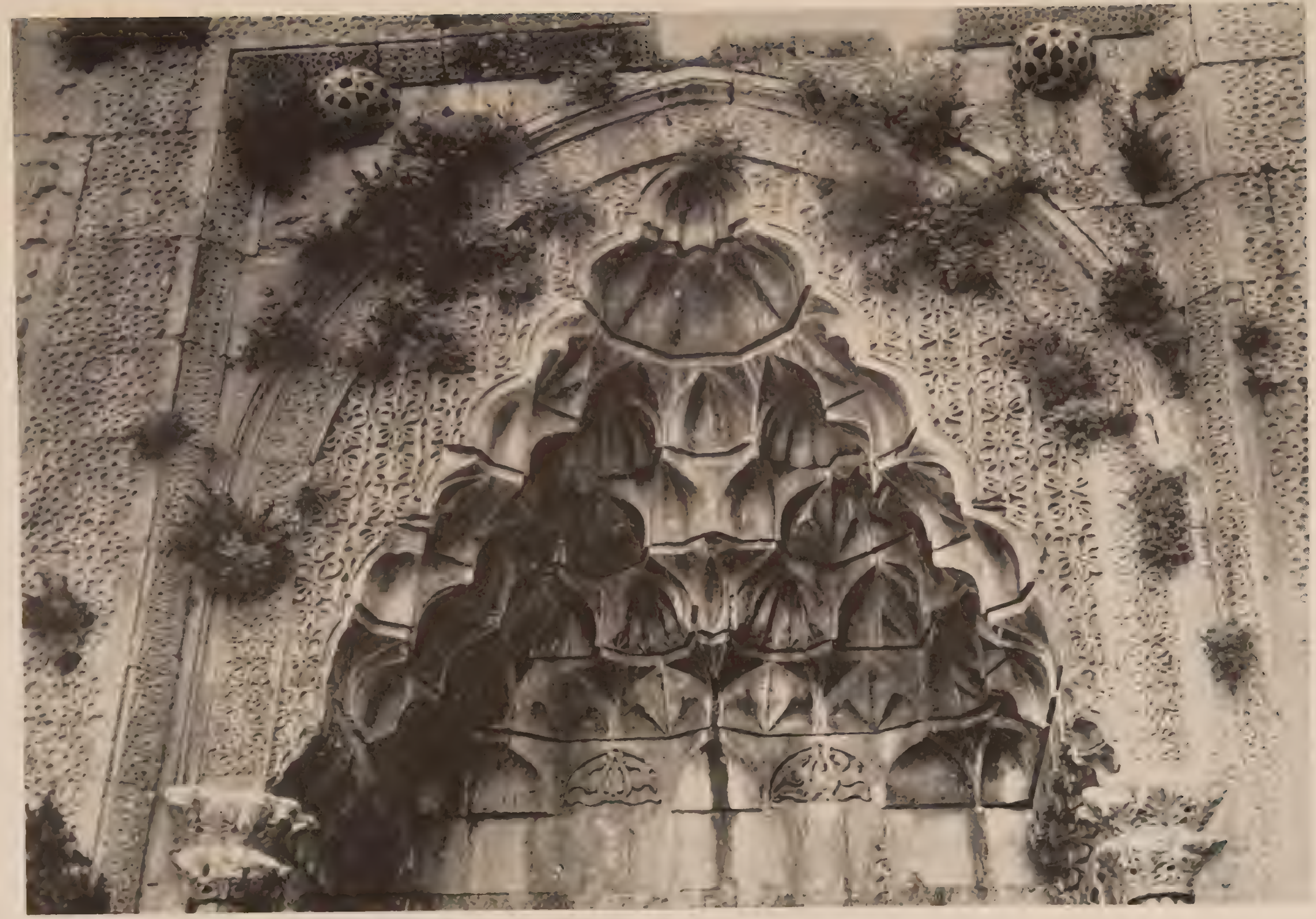

124. Susuz Han, near Burdur: stalactites of gateway

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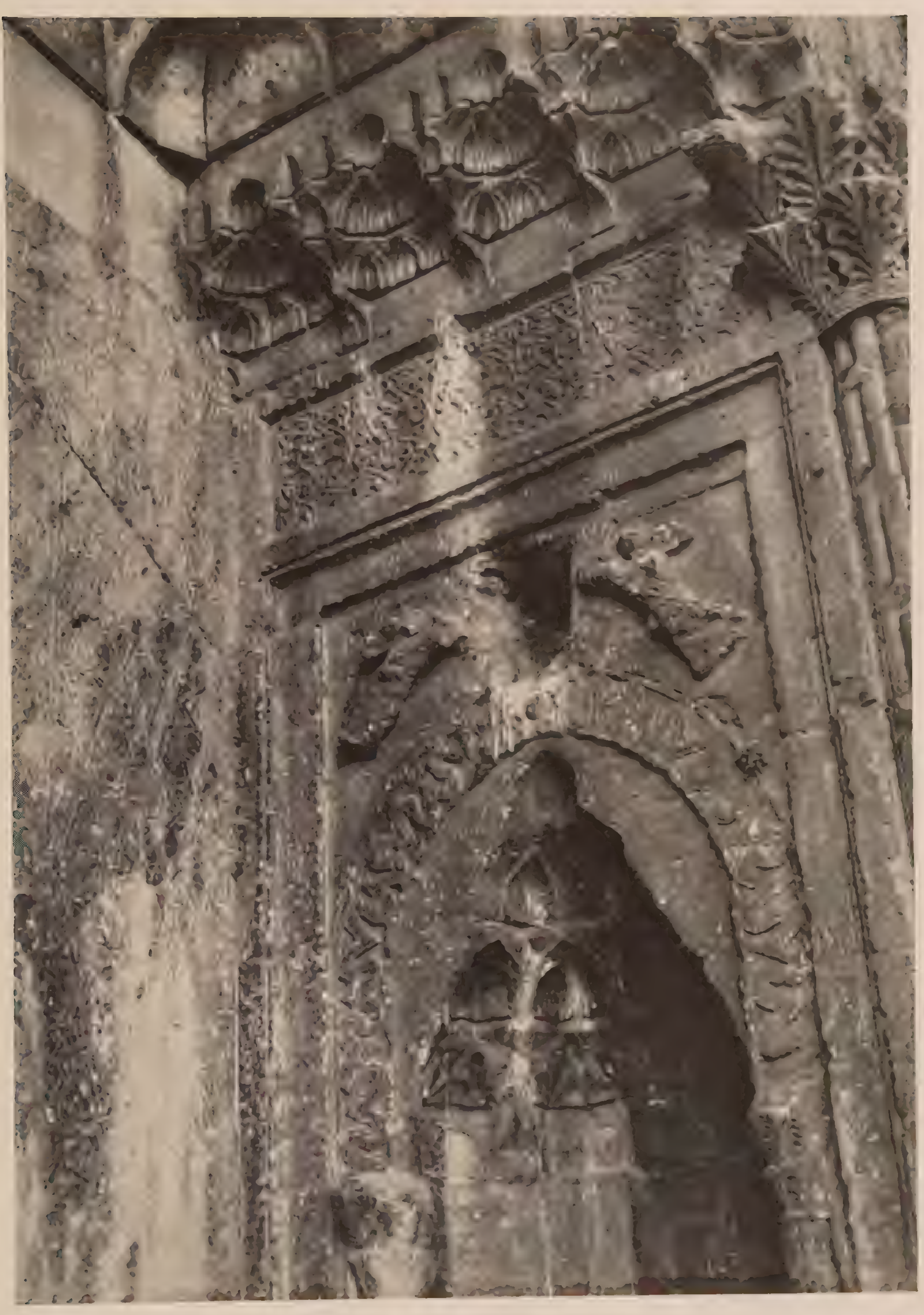

125. Susuz Han, near Burdur: angel and dragon relief over niche in gateway

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tertwined stems with attached arabesque begins at the top of these columns. Combined with a delicate molding on the outside, it forms a pointed arch which encloses the scalloped mitre arch terminating the front of the stalactite niche. The spandrils between the framing rectangle and this pointed arch are plain, save for two open-work bosses, one on each side, which are set not into the center of the spandril but on the upper edge. This may have been caused by a miscalculation or more probably by an erroneous reconstruction of the top of the gateway, after it had been damaged. The space between the pointed arch and the mitre arch is filled with a rather unusual all-over floral ornament.

The stalactites cover the recess of the gateway. They are arranged in seven tiers and are of most skilful workmanship. The sides of the recess contain the usual niche-shaped seats. The details of these side walls are interesting (Fig. 125). The top of the niche, just below the stalactites, has a very fine corbelled stalactite cornice in three tiers. Below follows a sunken panel with a repeated design of delicate tendrils with a profusion of attached arabesque leaves. Then follows a recessed panel enclosing the stone seat. This seat terminates in a stalactite niche, ending in front in a mitre arch, which is enclosed — just as the main gateway — in an ornamental pointed arch which sallies from the capitals of the columns flanking the niche. This pointed arch has a design in low relief of two coiled dragons with open mouths and sharp teeth ready to devour a human head in the center. The coils of the dragons, sometimes rounded, and sometimes forming pointed angles, consist of a sort of dogtooth ornament. Such dragons occur here and there in Seljuk ornament, the most striking instance being the almost identical dragon ornament on the supporting arches of the mosque of Sultan Han near Kaisarieh. The decoration in the spandrils above the pointed arch is still more surprising (Fig. 125): we find here two flying "angelots," symmetrically grouped, stretching their arms towards a central motif which — alas! — has been destroyed by some enemy of figural representation. The resemblance of these angels to similar angels found on Byzantine sculptures, miniature paintings, and ikons is obvious.

Unfortunately the sculptures are in such a state of preservation that it is impossible to recognize details. The angel to the right looks as if he might have held a peacock in his arms, a motif familiar from Persian miniatures and decorative compositions. They are certainly not borrowed pieces, as stated by Rott. I am entirely at a loss to explain this representation, which is as unique in Seljuk art as the nude "amorini" in the decoration of the gateway of Karatai Han.

The columns supporting the stalactite niches of the side seats with intertwined fluting on their shafts, are of similar design, though simpler than those of the gateway. The bases are destroyed. The capitals are of the type with two rows of serrated leaves. The door of the Han is surmounted by a segmental arch, decoratively supported to right and left by stalactite corbels. The wall surface surrounding the door is covered with an all-over tracery of geometric interlaced bands of very subtle pattern.

The grandiose simplicity of the interior (Fig. 126) contrasts strangely with this richly decorated gateway. As usual in Seljuk art, we find a subtle contrast between some highly decorated points and large simple masses.

The hall is of the "five-aisled" type. In reality there is a central aisle, with lateral naves running from right and left into the central aisle, each lateral aisle consisting of two vaulting compartments. The central aisle has five bays supported by four heavy square piers on each side. The piers are connected by powerful and very slightly pointed arches, which are emphasized by recessed bands. The central aisle has a slightly pointed vault, each vaulting unit separated from the other by flat ribs, the springing of which is accented by corbelling. Only the third (middle) vaulting compartment is covered by a hemispherical dome on spherical pendentives. Dome and pendentives are constructed in beautifully smoothed marble blocks, which conform to the spherical surfaces and are absolutely plain, a subtle contrast to the rich molding with torus and chevron design separating the dome from the pendentives.

The side aisles are of the usual type: pointed-arch vaults run towards the center aisle from right and left and are supported by arcades consisting of two pointed arches. The enfilade of these supporting arches gives the illusion of side aisles running in the direction of the main aisle, which, however, is not the case. Raised platforms in the interior mark the resting-places of the travelers as distinct from the space allotted to horses and beasts of burden.

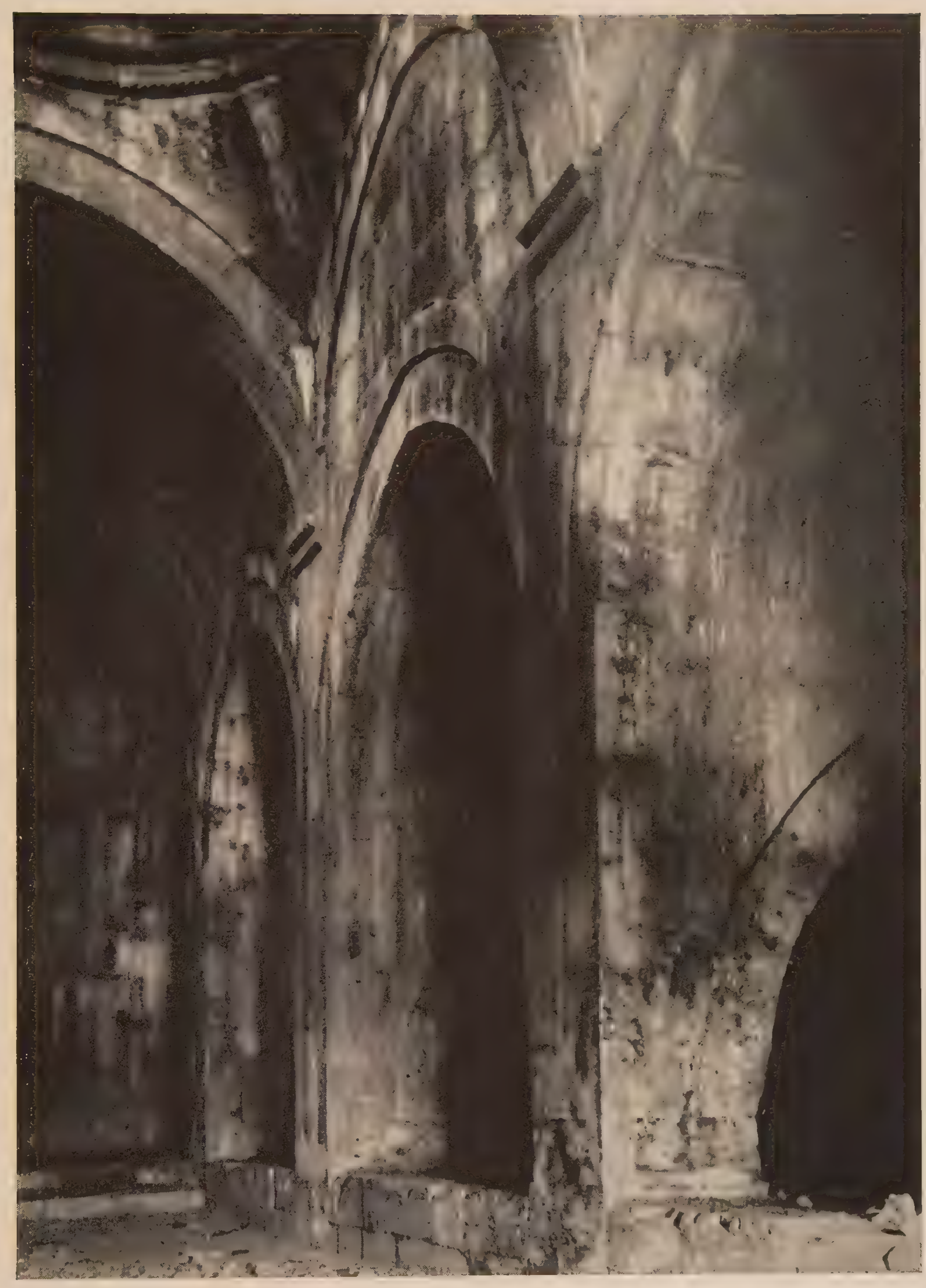
Since there are only a few small openings in the wall, very little light is admitted into the interior of the Han, which gives an impression of grandiose solemnity, hardly in keeping with the prosaic purpose of the building.

The sides of the Han are as carefully constructed as the front. Two octagonal blind towers, without any architectonic function, are set in between the corner towers. In the rear are two blind towers of rectangular plan between the corner towers. A few gargoyles are visible at the base of the second course of stones counting from the top.

The outer shell of the dome is somewhat problematic; it is enclosed by an octagonal drum which starts from a square base. I am inclined to think that this drum ended in an octagonal or square pyramid since such a structure is to be observed at Karatai Han near Azizieh.

Conclusions Concerning the Seljuk Hans

Besides the desirable study of the Seljuk roads leading towards Antalia and Alaya (discussed at the end of the chapter on Alaya), much remains for further investigation.



126. Susuz Han, near Burdur: interior, main aisle

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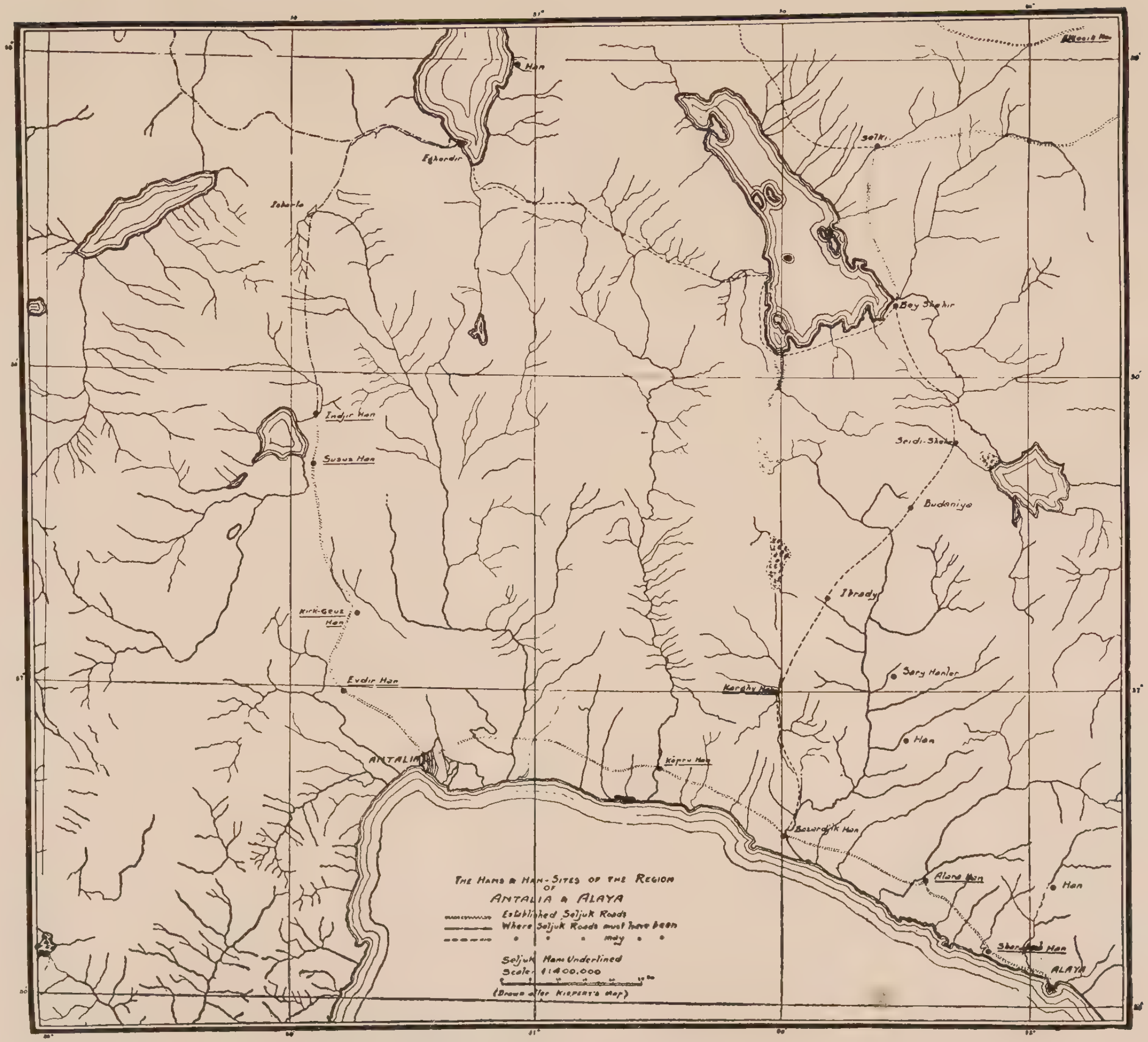
Han
Eghirdir
Soborlo
Indjir Han
Susuz Han
Kirk-Geuz Han
Evdir Han
ANTALIA
Köpru Han
Karghy Han
Bazardjik Han
Alara Han
Han
ALAYA
Han
Sary Hanler
Ibrady
Budaniya
Seidi-Shehr
Bey Shehir
Selki
THE HANS & HAN-SITES OF THE REGION OF ANTALIA & ALAYA
Established Seljuk Roads
Where Seljuk Roads must have been
" " " may "
Seljuk Hans Underlined
Scale 1:400,000
(Drawn after Kiepert's Map)
30°
31°
32°
37°

127. Map of Hans and routes in Pisidia and Pamphylia

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The preliminary surveys of Sharafseh Han, Evdir Han, and Kirk Geuz Han are sufficient for the moment, as are also the architectonic surveys of Susuz Han made by Lanckoroński and myself, but the ornamental details of the gateway ought to be photographed with more detail than I was able to obtain, and the inscriptions of Evdir Han and Kirk Geuz Han should be entirely deciphered.

North of Susuz Han is Indjir Han. The inscription of this Han has been published by Lanckoroński and Sarre.[1] Lanckoroński reproduces in a fine etching the façade of Indjir Han. I was not able to visit this Han, but a thorough survey of this Han with exact photography of all ornamental details is most desirable.

NOTES ON THE TURKISH ANTIQUITIES IN THE MUSEUM AT SMYRNA

THE Museum of Smyrna is housed at present in a former Greek church. It is one of the regional museums which have recently been founded by the government. All antiquities discovered or gathered in the region around Smyrna will be concentrated in this museum in the future, and on account of the numerous excavations carried on in Western Anatolia the museum is today already rich in classic sculpture.

Besides classic remains — which are beyond the scope of the present survey — the museum contains an important series of Turkish — and Islamic — antiquities, of which I will give a short account.

Carpets

A rather interesting series of sixteenth-century Turkish carpets has recently been discovered by His Excellency, Kiazim Pasha, Governor of Smyrna, in the Ulu Djami of Birgeh. They have all been transferred to the Smyrna Museum, and the better preserved ones are there exhibited. Among them several rugs of the type of design of "frozen arabesques" are worth mentioning. These specimens are of a special interest, as their colors are not confined to the customary red and yellow. Green and blue enter considerably into the composition. There are also some good specimens of seventeenth-century Ushak rugs and several rather fragmentary but fine specimens of Kulah and Giordes.

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[1] See Lanckoroński, *Staedte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, I, plate facing p. 1; II, 188, Fig. 187 — reproduction of the façade of Indjir Han. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, pp. 88, ff. The date of this Han is 636 A.H. (1238/9 A.D.); see inscription no. 8a of the present publication. See also Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, p. 21.

Seljuk and Early Ottoman Tombstones

The Museum owns a fine series of such tombstones which are of interest not only on account of their historic inscriptions but also for their rich ornamentation. This collection will probably soon be increased by the Seljuk tombstones discovered by Aziz Bey, Director-General of Antiquities, in Tireh. As Aziz Bey plans a publication of these tombstones, it would be useless to anticipate here a thorough investigation which will soon be generally accessible.

Mameluk Mirror

In the old Seraglio in Stambul, a very important series of Mameluk steel mirrors with rich incrustation of gold and silver has recently been discovered and is now on exhibition in the treasure house. These mirrors differ in shape from the Seljuk mirrors. They consist of a round disc mounted on a richly ornamented handle, while Seljuk mirrors follow the Chinese type, which consists of a circular disc with a pierced knob in the center of the obverse, to which a silk cord can be attached.

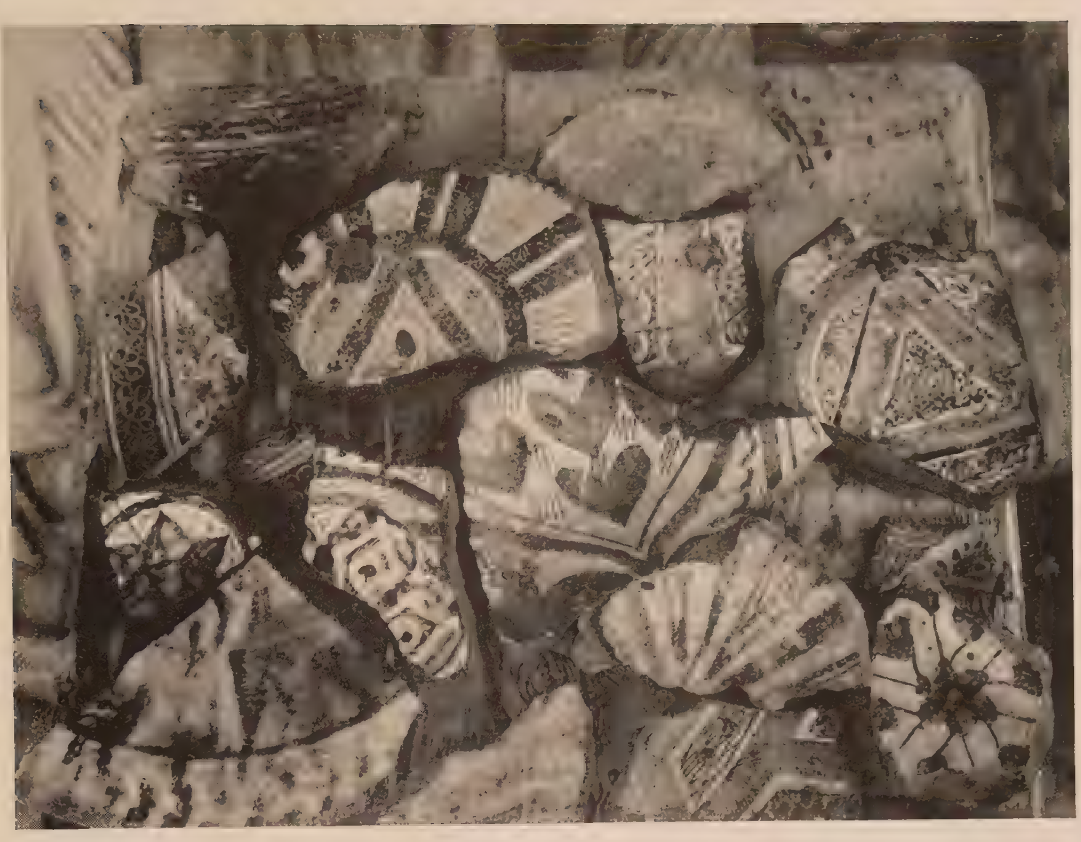
In the department of the Smyrna Museum devoted to the Islamic cult and to the remains of the tekkes, I found a Mameluk mirror with relief decoration on the obverse. This mirror shows a decoration arranged in four concentric zones. The outer zone has an inscription in Sulus characters, ascribing the mirror to the Mameluk Sultan Barsbaj (825–841 A.H. [1422–1438 A.D.]) (inscription no. 36, Fig. 228). The second zone is framed by interlaced curved bands and encloses a rich decoration of spiral tendrils with attached leaves. The decoration of the third narrower zone, formed by undulating vines, is similar. In the middle is a raised knob with concave center. The decoration is executed in low relief on a sunken background without any other metal. The plain handle has the shape of an eight-sided cylinder.

Pottery

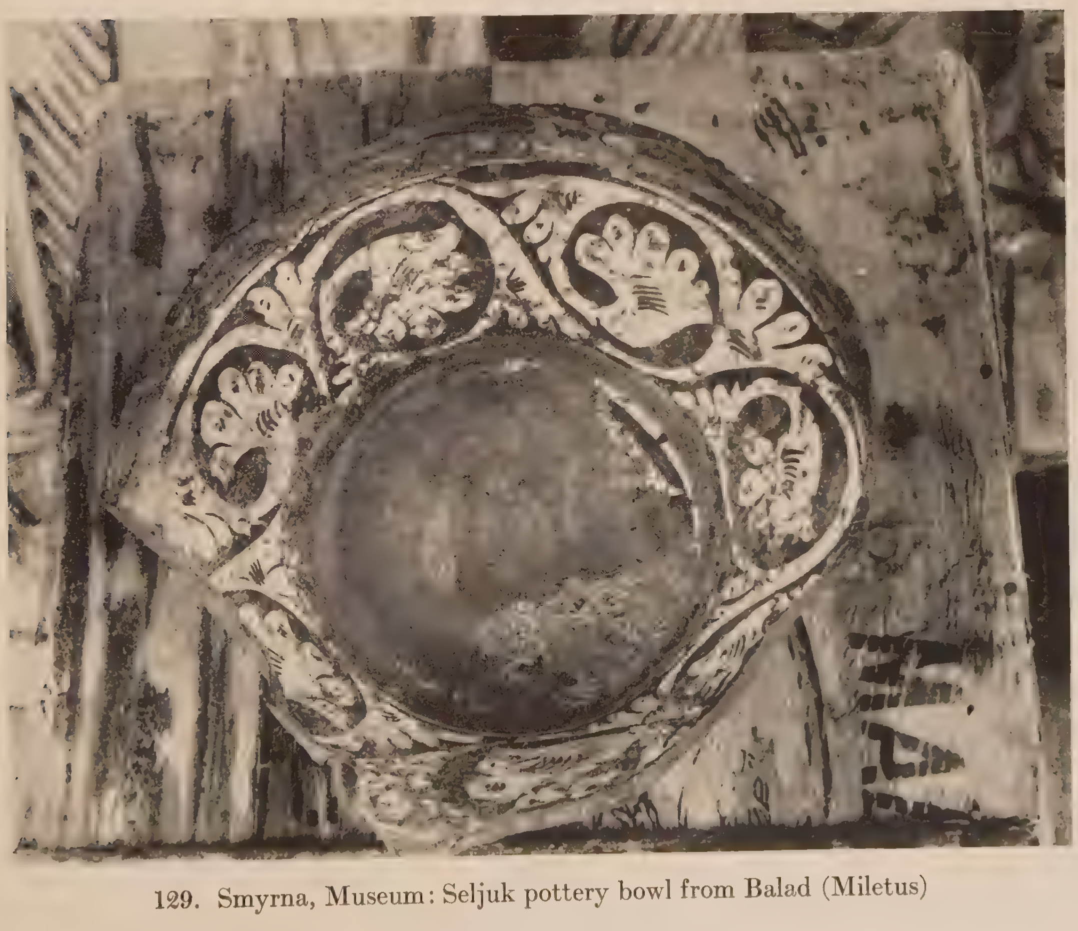
The most interesting specimens of pottery in the Smyrna Museum are a series of pottery fragments discovered in Miletus. They duplicate the important series of Turkish pottery fragments of the same origin in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin (Figs. 128, 129).

Among these fragments I observed the following types:

(1) Cobalt-blue on white slip. Reddish clay.
(2) Cobalt and manganese-purple on white slip. Reddish clay.
(3) Cobalt-blue in long mellow runs over the white slip, as in Chinese Tang potteries. Reddish clay.



128. Smyrna, Museum: group of Seljuk pottery fragments



129. Smyrna, Museum: Seljuk pottery bowl from Balad (Miletus)

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(4) Cobalt-blue under glaze, combined with black slip on white slip. Reddish clay.

(5) A finer type than number 4, with better design; delicate sgraffito ornament in the black slip. Reddish clay.

(6) Greenish turquoise glaze covering white slip and design in black slip. Reddish clay.

(7) Pale cobalt and a design in pale outline which must have been lustre (of course over the glaze).

(8) Black design covered by pale green glaze (perhaps Byzantine). Reddish clay.

Remarks

1. This type occurs quite frequently in Anatolian potteries of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. One of these fragments, judging by design and clay, seems to be important Hispano-Moresque ware. It will be remembered that Hispano-Moresque fragments are quite frequent in the pottery found around Cairo, Egypt. The designs on these Seljuk fragments are very simple: radiating lines grouped around a central disc; spiral patterns; rather crude patterns which seem to be a simplification of geometric interlacing.

2. The designs of this family are the same as those of type 1, except that purple is added to the color scheme. These are the two most frequent types found in Anatolia. Both wares may be qualified as "peasant wares."

3. Belonging also to the group of "peasant potteries."

4. Similar in design to types 1 and 2.

5. This type is much more elaborate in design than 1, 2, 4. The same type of pottery has been found in Stambul. It must therefore have continued as late as the second half of the ninth century A.H. (fifteenth Christian).

6. A well-known type of Seljuk pottery which has been observed on Seljuk buildings in Tokat and Akshehir. This type occurs also among the fragments in the Antalia Museum. So far as I know, it does not occur in Persian tiles but seems, however, to have existed in Syria.

7. Since the delicate spiral designs of this pottery appear only as a soft mother-of-pearl sheen on the glaze, visible if the fragment is held in certain positions, the design must have been executed in an overglaze color. It must have been lustre, which was known in Seljuk Anatolia. These pieces must therefore be of the seventh or, at the latest, of the eighth century A.H. (thirteenth or fourteenth Christian).

A Pottery Bowl in Black and White Sgraffito

Among the Miletus fragments is an admirable fragment (see Fig. 129) of a fairly large bowl on a low foot made of reddish clay and covered with a white slip, which in its turn is covered by a black slip, out of which an exceedingly bold pattern has been developed in sgraffito technique showing an undulated vine with spiral tendrils, which terminate in a lobed leaf.

Such sgraffito pottery covered with turquoise glaze is current in Persian potteries of the Seljuk period. In 1922 I predicted that some day we should probably find potteries in which a striking black and white pattern was produced by using a translucent white glaze instead of the turquoise. Such potteries have since been found and described.[1] We have here a specimen of the same technique and boldness of design. There cannot be any doubt that this piece will have to be assigned to the Seljuk period or that of the Emirats.

Miscellaneous

Perhaps the most important Islamic work in the museum is a large frieze with ornamental inscription, said to originate from a now demolished mosque in Smyrna (Fig. 130). A similar frieze has been found in the mosque of Isa Bey at Seljuk.[2] It must therefore date from the middle of the eighth century A.H. (fourteenth Christian). This frieze is about one meter high. A bold writing in perfect Sulus characters is set on a background of elaborate spirals to which small leaves and palmettes are attached. Both texts — the Sulus and the Kufic — are religious. These spirals offer a certain similarity to a well-known early Ottoman type of potteries, which for insufficient reasons has been assigned by Migeon and Sakisian to the Golden Horn.[3] In reality this

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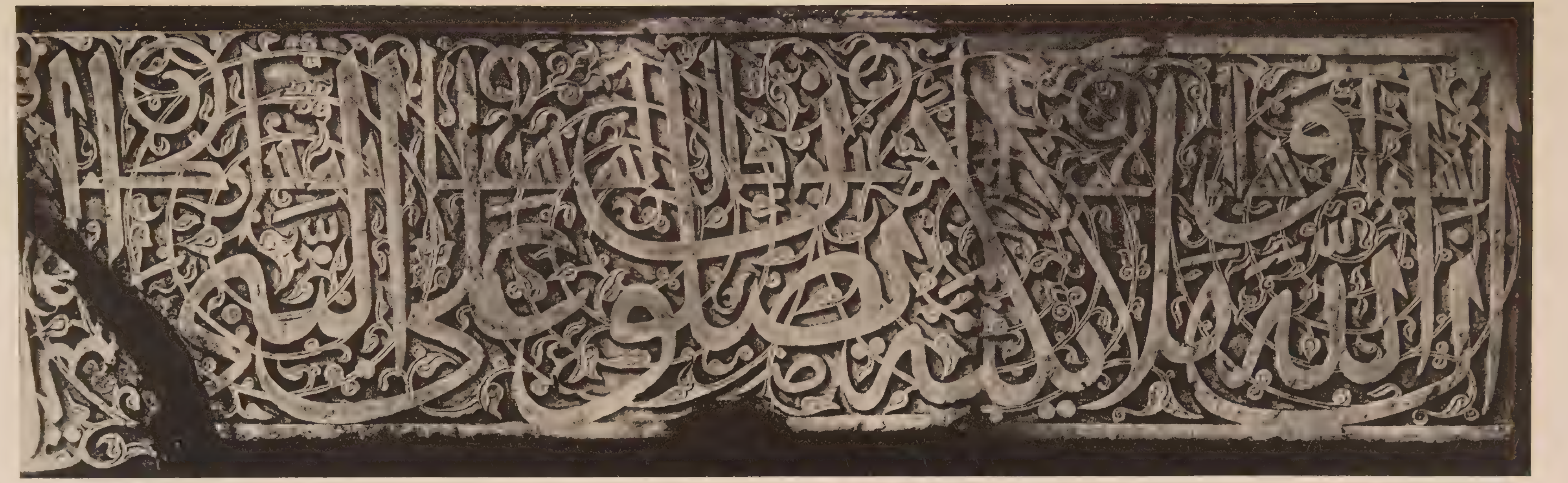
[1] R. M. Riefstahl, *Persian Potteries of the Parish Watson Collection* (New York: Weyhe, 1922), p. XVII, and Sarre, "Eine seltene Gattung persicher Keramik," *Der Kunstwanderer*, I–II (1927), 187–189.

[2] Compare E. Falkener, *Ephesus and the temple of Diana* (London, 1862). Falkener's book contains a number of illustrated records of the mosque of Isa Bey, also the great Vienna publication on Ephesus, *Oesterreichisches Archaeologisches Institut, Forschungen in Ephesus* (Vienna: Holder, 1906).

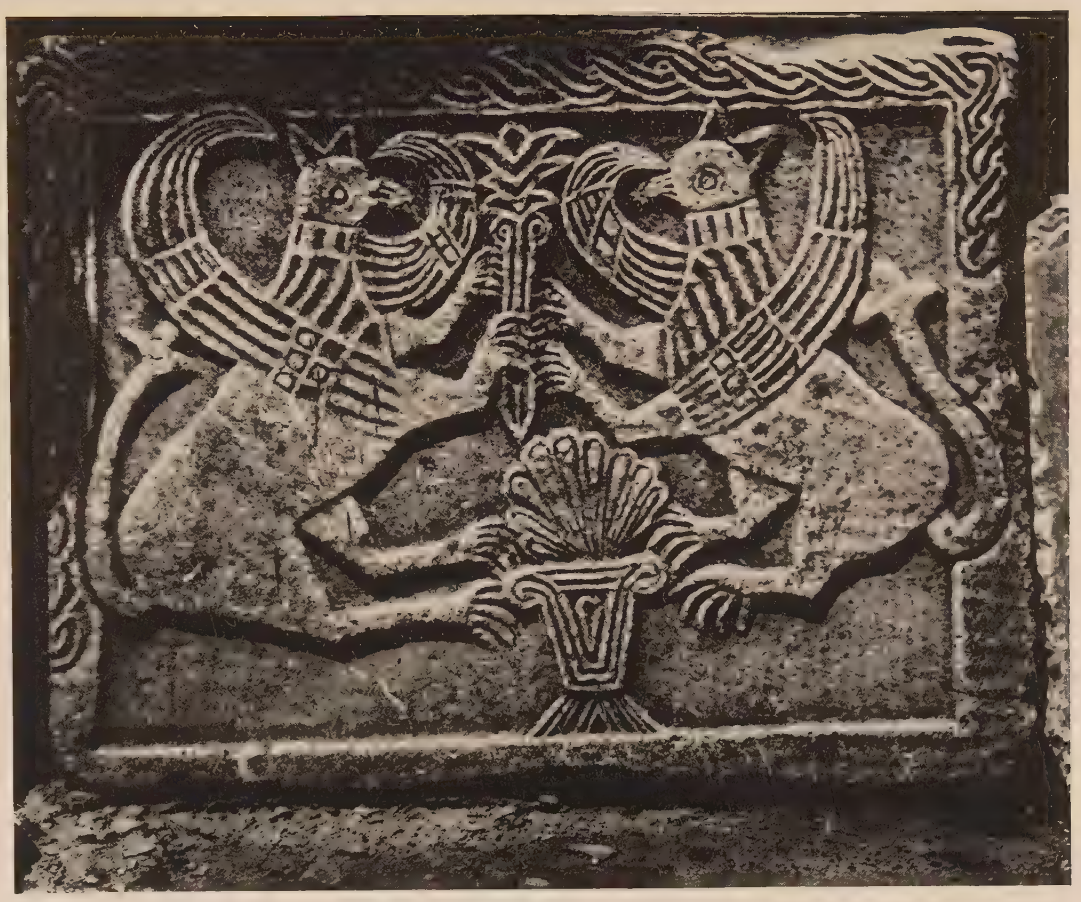
The (unnumbered) plate preceding page 155 in Falkener shows the reproduction of a frieze — very similar to the Smyrna one — combining Sulus and Kufic writing on a background of spiral scrolls. The text is Koranic. This inscription is recorded as being over the east gate, which is reproduced by Falkener on the preceding plate. The north doorway (plate facing page 154) also has a Sulus inscription in two lines. In Falkener's lithograph the main or west gate (plate preceding page 153) shows one large inscription on the top cornice of the rectangle of the gateway and a second one above the door. This latter inscription is shown in a reproduction (vol. I, Fig. 57) of the Austrian publication and contains the record of foundation of the mosque (776 A.H. [1375 A.D.]) built by order of Isa Bey by the architect Ali, son of Al-Dimishki. Fig. 43 of the Austrian publication gives a view of this same west gate. Falkener's plate illustrating the interior of the mosque (facing page 156) shows a very large inscription below the top cornice of the mihrab and another frieze running along the entire wall of the mosque at mid-height, similar for instance to the beautiful fayence frieze of the Piali Pasha mosque in Kassim Pasha, Para. Of this frieze, however, not the slightest trace is visible today.

Falkener's plan differs considerably from the plan of the Vienna publication, showing a mosque of ten coordinated domes supported in the center by a row of four columns. Falkener's plan is wrong, as a survey of the building proves. It seems doubtless to me that the minareh of the mosque is a later addition, entirely out of proportion. It corresponds in type exactly to the minarehs of the smaller mosque in Seljuk, Tireh, and other places dating from the ninth century A.H. (fifteenth Christian). The minareh rests on a base built in the same masonry as the triangular gables of the sanctuary which everybody recognizes as later additions. Was there, perhaps, originally a square minareh of Syrian type, the architect being from Damascus?

[3] Gaston Migeon and Armenag Bey Sakisian, *La ceramique d'Asie Mineure et de Constantinople* (Paris: Geuthner, 1923), reprinted from *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XLIII–XLIV, 32, Fig. 17. I have found fragments of this type of design in the fields of Isnik.



130. Smyrna, Museum: marble frieze from mosque in Smyrna, now demolished (probably 8th century A.H.; 14th of the Christian era)



131. Smyrna, Museum: Byzantine marble slab

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type of design must have been used in Turkish kilns mainly in the late ninth century A.H. (fifteenth Christian). It occurs also on tiles,[1] and we find it, too, on many firmans of the same period. Above the Sulus writing on the background of the same spirals is found a second inscription in angular Kufic, beautifully balanced in its angularity with the fluid swing of the Sulus. A similar combination of spiral background, Sulus and Kufic writing, is found on the frieze above the entrance of Tchinili Kiosk, Stambul, and on the fayence mihrab of Muradieh Djami in Edirne (Adrianople). Here the design is executed in fayence mosaic.

This remarkable frieze may be counted among the finest ornamental work of the eighth century A.H. It also reveals that the opinion we often hear expressed by Turkish connoisseurs, that the great period of Turkish calligraphy begins with the times of Sultan Bayazid II, is incorrect. In my opinion the man who designed this frieze seems equal in skill to any calligrapher of the tenth century A.H. It would be interesting to observe whether this statement will be supported by a study of the manuscripts of this period.

The Smyrna Museum contains also fragments of a Seljuk carved-wood minbar which is not of the very first quality.

Byzantine Works

The Museum possesses a considerable number of Byzantine stone carvings, particularly a fine series of Byzantine capitals, among which I may mention several specimens of the same type with five bosses as the capitals which were re-used in Hatunieh Djami, Manissa. (See Fig. 17.)

There is also an interesting marble slab (Fig. 131) with the representation of two winged gryphons in heraldic grouping, flanking a "tree of life." The Smyrna slab is of an eighth-century (Christian) type, but it is either provincial or of a relatively late period, for the execution is rather crude. The tree of life is curiously broken up: the lower part appears here as an urn holding a nine-lobed palmette, while the trunk of the tree is detached and forms a miniature palm tree held by the claws of the two animals. It is interesting to compare with this slab another one, representing the same subject, which I found re-used as the front slab of a Turkish fountain on the Kaleh in Antalia (Fig. 94). The treatment of the winged gryphons in this latter slab is rather well balanced and reveals a much greater skill than does the Smyrna carving.

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[1] Andronikos Collection, Stambul.

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